Daily Report

Latin America

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Cuba

Castro Gives Speech on Bay of Pigs Anniversary

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[Speech by Cuban President Fidel Castro in commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the Bay of Pigs victory, at the Karl Marx Theater in Havana—live]

[Text] [Castro] Relatives of the fallen due to the invasion at Giron, comrades of the party directorate and government, fighters of Giron, comrade ladies and gentlemen:

I could not overlook this historic and unforgettable date. I believe that 19 April and its 30th anniversary are extraordinarily symbolic; they bring to mind imperialism's first defeat in America, as this event was called by many in Latin America and the world. Much has been written about this event over the past few days and every time the date is commemorated, every year, and about the fetes carried out by our fighters, our militiamen, and the soldiers of our rebel Army.

This happened at the very beginning of the revolution, when we did not have many of the forces that we have today: the rebel Army, which was relatively small, the militia, and the people. As I have recalled on other occasions, we had just received the main weapons that we would use in combat. Many of our ground and antiaircraft tank operators and artillery men had trained for barely one week. Our units did not surpass the battalion level; their inexperience in conventional warfare was total.

Our aviation service, as Comrade Cabrera [not further identified] said during a recent interview, was comprised of a few airplanes of various brand names from capitalist countries, and they were also lacking in parts, because two years, more than two years had passed since the triumph of the revolutions and still no airplane parts had arrived. We also had very few pilots and they had received little training. Even this meager aviation service the [Americans] skillfully attempted to destroy by attacking them with airplanes that bore Cuban insignia but that were, nevertheless, American airplanes. At times they were piloted by mercenaries and at certain times by American pilots. They had every possible advantage to defeat the revolution, and they dreamed about defeating it. They were certain that they would defeat the revolution. Who could thwart the CIA and the Pentagon's plans? Who could thwart the plans made by the U.S. Government, such a wealthy and powerful country, and with so much experience in matters of subversion and war? How could the incipient revolution resist? Many of them even dreamed that with the first disembarcations, the entire population would rise up to support none other than the mercenaries. In effect, the first reports published by the news agencies referred to those alleged uprisings and joining of forces.

It was a surprise attack, without the previous warnings that are common among fascists and reactionaries, and they had total air supremacy. They met all of the conditions to defeat the revolution. The revolution was not expected to last much longer than the final days of April.

What they found was the complete opposite of what they had expected. The leaders of that country were very shocked by that situation. They could not imagine that they could make a mistake or that there could have been an error. How could this small country, this Caribbean colony of the Yankees, defend itself and respond in the overwhelming and crushing way in which it responded on that occasion?

We had been getting the people ready. What took over at that moment was our idea of an all people's war. We had been able to acquire thousands of weapons by then. At that moment we could have had already a few hundred thousand weapons—light weapons, infantry weapons—that were distributed throughout the country. There were fighting units organized throughout the country—in the plains and mountains—always taking into consideration the possibility of a U.S. military intervention, an invasion not by mercenaries but by regular U.S. troops.

From the beginning, starting with the first months of the revolution, when we only had the weapons we had seized from Batista, our people were getting ready to fight under any circumstances. This was the situation from the very beginning, not just at the end of one or two years.

We had clear ideas from the first few years of the revolution. The enemy was really shocked by its failure. It came close to a direct intervention. It had its aircraft carrier, its warships, and its marine infantry in front of Giron. They were three miles away. The battles that took place were visible to the U.S. squadron and troops. History reports that the order to intervene was almost given, but they did not have much time. When they finally decided to give the attackers air support, there was nobody to receive it. One basic characteristic of Giron was that the fighting went on day and night, without any truce, from 17 April, when they landed, until the 19th, in the evening, when they had been completely defeated and had been dispersed throughout the swamps and forests. Our people had been underestimated, our revolution had been underestimated, and Cuban revolutionaries had been underestimated.

It was an unforgettable lesson for them. All of that led to complications later on. They had already established the economic blockade, which they have maintained throughout these 30 years. All of that gave rise to a desire for revenge against Cuba and the preparation of plans with the direct participation of U.S. troops. All of that resulted in the measures that Cuba took in coordination with the Soviet Union, which in turn led to the October crisis, another historic event that took place one and one half years after the mercenaries' attack at the Bay of Pigs.

Because of our efforts in the field of defense throughout these 30 years, we have succeeded in having all that we have today, 19 April. The Bay of Pigs aggression is not only an important historical event, and it not only resulted in a great victory for the Cuban revolution and in a great defeat for imperialism, but on the occasion of that invasion, the socialist nature of the Cuban revolution was proclaimed.

We cannot forget for a second all of the soldiers who fell there and who were willing to die in those years and particularly on that date. They did it defending the glorious banner of socialism. [applause] We cannot forget those who died defending the most beautiful and fair of all causes in mankind's history. The 30th anniversary of this defense has also been completed. We have defended this cause consistently for 30 years. Hence, the symbolism of this date is twice as important. The revolutionary, military, and political order is very important. Hence, the great importance of order at this time. Those were difficult moments, when we lacked so many things.

In the first place, we count on our people having a political culture that is superior and beyond any comparison. I remember specifically that in those days of the Bay of Pigs we were conducting a literacy campaign. It was the year of the literacy campaign. There were over 100,000 youths who were working on the campaign. Today, for each one of those 100,000 youths, our country has three teachers and professors who have graduated and are working.

We have three professors for each one of those literacy campaign workers as a result of the development of education and the development of the cultural achievements of our country; this is an expression of the people we have today—hundreds of thousands of university graduates, over 1 million students with mid-level education, and millions of persons including children, adolescents, and adults who attend classes.

We have a people who have had the historic schooling of nearly 30 years of revolution: we have a party of at least 600,000 militants and candidates. There is approximately the same amount of members in the Union of Young Communists. We have an Armed Forces that has developed its experience and capability to fight dozens upon dozens of times; this is added to its ability at that time. We have hundreds and hundreds upon thousands of reservists and millions of organized, trained, and armed fighters. They are organized throughout the length and breadth of the country, everywhere, in the swamps and mountains and in the fields and cities.

We count on the mass organizations. We count on the organized socialist state, and we count on the renewed and strengthened Ministry of Interior. We count on numerous forces that we did not have at that time. There is a tremendous difference between then and now. Above all, we count on the unity of our people.

We will count upon—above everything else—the unity of this people. We will count upon the absolute, indestructible, and solid unity of all our revolutionaries [applause] and the solid and indestructible unity of our party with the people. [applause] What else can we rely on? We rely on our history because we are the same people, the descendants of the people of '68 and '95, of the 30 years of struggle for independence. We are heirs to the people who fought to eliminate the neo-colony, who fought the tryrannies of Machado and Batista, the same people who attained the definitive independence on 1 January 1959. We are the people of Giron, of the October crisis, of the fighting in Escambray, of internationalist missions; the people who over the years have written the most permanent revolutionary pages; and the people who covered themselves with glory by resisting the imperialist blockade and aggression for more than 30 years. We are the people who saved the honor of Latin America, the people who today are saving the honor of socialism. [applause]

Our indefatigable determination to struggle and face difficulties has been leading us to the first phase of the special peacetime period.

I remember that I told you two years ago in Camaguey, on 26 July—you must certainly remember it—that we will defend socialism to the end. Even if the socialist world disintegrates, we will continue to defend socialism. I have also said that if a civil conflict is declared in the USSR—you might note how long ago we pronounced those words, almost two years ago—if the USSR were to stop existing, we will continue to defend socialism. [applause] Those were serious ideas and purposes, and they were stated with the deepest conviction; yet those words might have appeared strange at the time. Some people have asked: How is this possible? We saw that these things were possible in the world because the socialist world disappeared some time ago; the problems in the USSR are so serious that we cannot dismiss the possibility of civil strife or a disintegration of the country.

The facts are there and we are faithfully fulfilling our pledges. The situation is becoming complicated, particularly in the economic sector. We must not be held responsible for or blamed for the mistakes that others have made—any kind of mistake.

We are responsible for our history and for our errors, but we really cannot consider ourselves responsible for the errors of others, or for their incapabilities, or for their letting themselves be penetrated by reactionary ideas and by the ideology of capitalism and imperialism, or for the way they have allowed themselves to be subdued ideologically and politically.

Here we have defended ourselves and have maintained the strength of the revolution and the unity of the revolution throughout 30 years of attacks—and what attacks! No country in the world has withstood so many

lies, so much slander, so much calumny, so much propaganda as has been carried out against Cuba, and with the disappearance of the socialist camp and as certain changes have been carried out in the USSR, all that propaganda has returned, all of it, all together, and what had been sent against all of them is now all against one country, against Cuba. All the threats of world imperialism and reaction are all against one country, fundamentally, against Cuba.

With regard to socialist countries as powerful as China, it would be very difficult to have interventionist dreams like those dreams that imperialism has with regard to Cuba. This is a small Caribbean country that is surrounded not only by water on all sides, but by capitalism on all sides.

This is an increasingly socialist country, but also a country increasingly separated from the places where there is still socialism.

I think history will have to record and analyze the errors that have been committed, these big, but not irreversible, errors of socialism.

We have had to suffer the consequences of what happened over there. I have explained this before and it is not necessary to repeat it now. There was CEMA, to which we used to belong. There were economic agreements, positive, very positive and useful agreements with the Soviet Union. I have said this on other occasions. I have explained this during discussions on the foreign debt. I have cited the example of how we had resolved with the socialist countries the problem of unfair trade, and also how we had done it through our relations with the USSR.

A total of 85 percent of our trade was with those countries, and 15 percent was with countries with which we were able to trade during a U.S. blockade that the United States is always trying to make more rigorous. All of this has crumbled in a matter of months.

We could tell the story of the first years of the revolution. We had a few American tractors, locomotives, and manufacturing plants. We needed spares and other such things. We had Czech tractors and trucks and other things from that country; we had combines and various kinds of GDR machinery; we had I forget what things from Hungary; we had other things from Bulgaria; and of course we had a large amount of technology from the Soviet Union. In that country, we traded with the Foreign Trade Ministry and dozens of export enterprises. Our trade with the Soviet Union was conducted according to bilateral agreements.

Virtually all of that has disappeared. Although we continue to trade with the Soviet Union, the conditions are different. It is increasingly difficult because we do not know whether we have to deal with 20 or 200 enterprises, who do not seem to know anything about trade. We cannot get a spare part for, let us say, a Hungarian tractor—oops, we do not have Hungarian tractors—or any machinery from the GDR. There is no one left for us to trade with. Where are the manufacturing plants or equipment they had been selling for some time, such as the Karl Marx cement plant, or a large one, such as the one at Nuevitas, to name a few? Where are spare the parts for Czech technology, such as those for the plants in Sancti Spiritu and Siguaney? We now have to run all over the Soviet Union talking to many enterprises just to get a few spares—if there are any to be had.

In a relatively brief, historic span of time, we have accumulated experience in these fields. In reference to only one part of the problem, we had coordinated development plans to the year 2000 and even the year 2010 with the Soviet Union, including all of the energy and nuclear energy planning. There were many development programs in many important fields, such as commercial exchange, fair prices for our products, and the certainty that contracts would be fulfilled. In summing up, these were reasonable conditions for the implementation of development programs of the revolution.

I think that the disintegration of CEMA is still a serious setback; it has created difficulties we could describe as less than colossal. The Soviet Union's problems, however, do entail colossal difficulties, taking into account that we received Soviet crude oil, which we never lacked during the revolution. We experienced difficulties in the midst of a very complex international situation, such as the energy problems in the Middle East that caused the price of one barrel of oil to rise from 14 to 200 pesos. A higher or a lower price could have been charged. Did I say 14? This is a big mistake. I should have said two pesos, two dollars. The price rose to $32 a ton. The price rose from approximately $14 to $200. In those times, commercial agreements between the Soviet Union and Cuba, as well as the Soviet Union's stability and security, allowed us to pass through those difficult periods of time. We developed our energy industry on such a basis, new refineries were built, and so on.

We received from the Soviet Union a large quantity of important raw and industrial materials, as well as large shipments of food products. Problems in the Soviet Union have a greater impact on our country than the situation in Eastern Europe which had not changed completely. The agreements on crude oil have been cut by 25 percent. It was necessary to sign a new agreement for this year's supply of oil. Commercial agreements were signed. Prices, however, were no longer the problem. It was necessary for the Soviet Union to take into account its own problems. The groundwork for this year's trade has been laid.

We must honestly say that the USSR representatives, the USSR leadership, despite their problems and difficulties, applied themselves during negotiations in an effort to create a reasonable groundwork in a difficult economic and commercial situation for both countries. We must honestly say—I repeat—that they did everything they could to establish such groundwork. We should feel satisfied with 25 percent less fuel, even with a lower

sugar price, if we guarantee fuel and a certain amount of raw materials and import products during the special period. The difficult thing is to guarantee the contracting and receipt of those products. This is extremely difficult and, I might add, it has become more and more difficult despite Soviet efforts, and we must be honest about this. For example, until now, fuel has been delivered in keeping with the agreements.

Talking about food, the country imports some of its food from the USSR. The agreements with the USSR pertaining to the last quarter of 1990 are being implemented in the first part of 1991. We have been receiving food and it is true that they have made the effort. I know that they are even trying to fulfill pledges for the first part of the year; we appreciate those efforts very much. Likewise, we are striving to fulfill our part of the agreements.

The situation with other raw materials is also very difficult. Many.... [changes thought] We are talking about industrial raw materials in general, for example caustic (?soda), which is very important in the sugar industry and the soap industry, and a series of important chemical products, metals, and lumber. We have received approximately one ton of many of these products. As far as industrial raw materials are concerned, we have received very little, or practically nothing in the first quarter of 1991.

There is another problem related to this. A large portion of the merchandise supplied by the USSR was delivered by Soviet ships. Our fleet grew and grew, but our fleet does not have the capacity to take over the lion's share of these imports.

Factors that involve arranging transport charters have become increasingly complicated. Our ships do not suffice. Some merchandise will be brought by ships coming to Cuba to pick up merchandise. Other merchandise must be picked up by our ships. It is a tense situation. Economically and logically this means that difficulties have increased. We were already in the first phase of the special period. We were no longer getting supplies from former socialist countries. Occasionally we talk to them about trading some things; I really do not know where those countries will find consumers for many of their products. As soon as those products get on the market, I think some people pay to have them sent back saying: Please, take them away. There is talk about commercial bartering of some products.

The reduction in oil supplies is a severe setback. We are forced to reduce activities. What do we have right now? Goodwill. There are reasonable agreements, under the current circumstances, and major difficulties in implementing these agreements. This is what we have. There is more, but I will have to explain it later. It pertains to economics, and this entire situation, of course, also affects the military.

We are being threatened by the United States, and we will be increasingly threatened as it feels it is the master of the world, as it feels it is the dominant power in the world, and as it feels that it can do whatever it pleases at the United Nations. It has been our country that has saved the honor of that international institution because we maintained our policy from the beginning to the end of the crisis, and we did it bravely, in every sense.

Many have subordinated themselves to U.S. policy. This is why the Gulf crisis ended as it did. That was a crisis that could have been resolved, as we contended, without a war. Imperialism was so boastful of its technology and so cruel, however, that it turned that country into a testing ground for its arms and encouraged unnatural chauvinism and a triumphalist spirit. All this makes the imperialists more dangerous. All these events are also influencing [words indistinct]. Currently, we need more arms than ever, but we are not going to have more. We will probably have fewer arms and less supplies than before. We have to adapt ourselves to this truth. We have to be realistic.

Anyway, this situation is also having an effect on the supply of arms. We must state this and I must explain these problems. You, the revolutionary fighters and party cadres, should be aware of these problems, and not just because they are bigger at this time. Can you by chance imagine the country's enormous efforts, as I have explained on other occassions, to meet the basic needs of our population? This is a concern every day, every hour, and every second for the party and the government—what to do in view of all these difficulties. Some people cannot even imagine the extent of these problems. Some believe that they are living in the most idyllic of worlds.

It is not easy to make everyone—I mean 100 percent, the vast majority of the population—understand and realize that we are not publishing these things in the newspapers every day. They cannot even be published. You can rest assured that the efforts of the party and the government to minimize the consequences of these problems are [words indistinct]. In this way we have managed to get by and fulfill the schedule of the special program. We have said that the special program is intended not only to resist and survive, but also to develop. In this regard, we have a program that I believe I explained to you right here on 28 September, on the anniversary. On that day I gave a long speech on our programs. Comrades, you can rest assured that the schedule of the special program is being fulfilled, despite all the aforementioned problems.

The food program is being fulfilled. All the work of the food program is being accomplished. There are 201 brigades working on the sugarcane terrace engineering system, [word indistinct], and the drainage and irrigation parceling system, as we call them. At times, different brigades stop working for a week due to lack of fuel [words indistinct]. Our comrades immediately try, however, to make up for those lost days of work. We want to plant 100,000 hectares, but perhaps we will not plant 100,000, 90,000, or even 80,000 hectares. At any rate, we are making progress.

We are building hundreds of dairy farms and dozens upon dozens of poultry and hog-raising installations. All such priority tasks are being carried out, including the entire food program—all aspects of the food program. We are building dozens of dams. How many of them will have to close on 30 April or early in May. There are hundreds of kilometers of irrigation channels.

Over the past year, we planted more pasture land than in the entire history of the revolution. In other words, there is not a single aspect of the food program that is not being worked on intensely despite all the problems I have mentioned.

The sugarcane is being harvested, despite periodical problems with metal, spare parts, and lubricants and the strain with regard to fuels and acetylene that is produced with carbide. We have been working under great pressure on this aspect of the sugarcane harvest.

Our sugar workers have been making great efforts. So far this year they have already produced 6.6 million tons of sugar. As of today, 19 April, they have already produced 6.6 million tons of sugar. This goes to show what a united country can do, what a united, ordered, and organized country can do.

Tourism development plans are being implemented. The people are making tremendous effort to build hotels, all sorts of installations, [words indistinct]. The entire tourism program will be implemented. The resources are there for one of the programs we had included in the special period.

The biotechnology and pharmaceutical industry program is being properly implemented on a priority basis. A great deal of work is being carried out toward many objectives of this program without much fuss or talk. In Havana Province enterprises for various crops have built 62 new camps. They built 62 new camps in 30 weeks, other camps were repaired, and more are under construction. Tens of laboratories were built for biological plague control. Work has been carried out throughout the island, but particularly in areas close to the capital, taking into consideration that Havana has a population of over 2 million people, which means that everything mentioned here on 28 September is being carried out.

We will stop at nothing to continue its implementation under any circumstance. If we ask for 10 million tons of fuel and get much less than that, the last thing to come to a halt would be that—those development programs that we are implementing during the special period. The effort is unbelievable. Much still remains to be done in terms of savings. Even though we are stretching resources, the resources for the sugarcane harvest, for instance, are different from the resources normally available. We are implementing a program to train oxen throughout the country. This program was prepared for the special period and many measures have been adopted.

The Armed Forces have made a special effort to conserve in all areas—energy, clothing, resources, everything. Virtually all units are making a special effort to produce food. They have done admirable things to maintain maximum combat readiness. The efforts they have made to conserve fuel have been extraordinary. That is not all. They have begun research and have adopted measures to find ways and formulas to work even with no fuel—should it come to that—as well as how to conduct fundamental activities, how to ensure combat readiness, how to guarantee that tanks and war materiel will move, and what sort of fuel can replace oil—from coal to dry sugarcane leaves—and many more things. This constitutes an example of what can truly be accomplished if we succeed in bringing the same effort and savings to each of the country's activities.

It is truly incumbent upon us to think and consider what to do if at some time we may have to adjust to the zero or almost zero (?option). In other words, programs are being implemented through tremendous effort, even though there are many people who are still babbling—I do not know where the world babbling comes from, Babylon perhaps? [laughter]

Some cannot even imagine the efforts of the revolution under these circumstances—the efforts it has made and will continue to make. Now, these problems that I have mentioned could worsen. Why? Because they depend very much on developments in the USSR.

If developments in the USSR lead to stabilization and maintenance of the country's unity, the sort of agreements that we have had in the past can be maintained. They can somehow be implemented with varying degrees of slowness. We will face the problems that I have mentioned. [Words indistinct] even worse one, but doing the things we are doing facilitates the work that under other circumstances would be even more difficult.

The words convertible foreign exchange are now in vogue [words indistinct] dollars. Of course, we do not trade in dollars with the USSR. The products we export would be worth dollars if we were to sell in dollars [words indistinct].

I wish to note that once thousands upon thousands of independent enterprises exist—although not all of them have the same attitude—the words dollars and convertible exchange become commonplace. [Words indistinct] dollars, we send products that we manufacture with sacrifice and sweat through our effort.

We do not print that currency, however. That currency is printed in the United States and other countries. They include pounds sterling and other so-called convertible foreign exchange.

Under normal circumstances such obstacles appear, but we must resign ourselves to this. If we have to trade with 10,000, we will have to do it. [sentence as heard] We cannot yet say the last word, because no one can ascertain what kind of central procedures may still exist in the

USSR to facilitate and make more viable trade between a country like Cuba with the USSR, that gigantic group of nations of more than 20 million square km and approximately 300 million people. [Words indistinct] at this moment, no one knows this for sure.

What I want to say is that if things develop in a normal way, if they manage to stabilize, if they manage to save the integrity of the country, if the Soviet Union continues to exist, independently from whatever changes they might make, changes of any kind, Cuban relations with the Soviet people and the different populations of the USSR—the relations are historic, respectful relations, they are friendly relations. We know of a great number of people and friends in the USSR who are interested in Cuba, who respect Cuba. Thus, we respect the reforms undertaken by the USSR, because each country is entitled to do whatever it deems convenient. I have already said that we respect the right of any country to build even capitalism, but we also demand respect for any country's right to build socialism. We are not interested in the changes that another country may undertake. We have our opinions, but we respect those of others. In other words, economic relations between the USSR and Cuba will continue to develop, based on specific premises.

For our country it is very important that the Soviet Union overcome its difficulties. For our country it is very important that the current financial situation of the USSR improves; that the situation in the USSR becomes stabilized. We do not have formulas for this nor are we the ones who are called upon to make formulas. It is the affair of the Soviets. It is clear and logical to all our comrades, however, that the successes of the USSR or the improvement of the USSR economy would be a positive factor for us and also for the whole world. The deterioration of the economic problems of the USSR are bad for the whole world and also for us. The deterioration of the ethnic problems of the USSR, the deterioration of the internal conflicts, the social conflicts, of whatever type, a strike here or there—and this is not our affair, it is an internal affair of the USSR and they are the only ones who can intervene. It is a matter that is very clear and objective that if steel production is paralyzed the possiblitiy of us receiving a ton of steel is greatly reduced. If obstacles arise in other industrial areas or other important branches, this all inevitably results in problems for us. If the USSR disintegrates, if the USSR divides into numerous republics, it is the affair of the Soviets, not us, but the disappearance of the USSR as a superpower is very serious and would bring negative consequences for the entire world, and in a special way for us and a special way too for all of the Third World. Today many in the world realize—especially Third World countries realize—how important the existence of the USSR has been for them and how the mere existence of that country became a check on the imperialist thirst for power, on the ensnarement of imperialist domination. It became a check on imperialist aggression.

;t could not prevent this from happening, however, since acts of aggression did take place. In fact, many countries under difficult circumstances received weapons to defend themselves. The Vietnamese received many weapons from the Soviet Union. We received many weapons from the Soviet Union. In the Bay of Pigs, a date we commemorate today, Soviet-made weapons were already used. Many countries received that benefit to confront U.S. aggression and threats. Tens of countries of the world today realize how serious it would be to have a world under the wings of the United States.

These countries have begun to better than ever realize the historic importance the emergence of the Soviet Union had and all the benefits it has brought to the Third World and to mankind. We must also say that when the first socialist revolution took place, capitalism panicked and even began to devise social solutions to ease conditions for the masses, not out of generosity or selflessness, but out of fear of an outburst of social explosions.

Something similar happened when they came up with the Alliance for Progress after the Cuban revolution and the Bay of Pigs. It was a movement, a number of ideas that resulted from fear that the process of the Cuban revolution could be repeated in Latin America. It is clear, as I have previously explained, that everything that happens in the Soviet Union is very important for the world and for us. Undeniably, there are many symptoms of instability in the Soviet Union, including the danger of its coming apart. What does this mean? That the situation in the Soviet Union can worsen and that it is filled with potential dangers of several kinds. Some Soviet leaders have spoken in public even of civil strife and war.

First, we must be realistic. This situation is yet to be decided. No one knows what might happen in one, two, or three months. Of course, we desire the best, not only because this is a lesson for us, but because of our love for and friendship with the Soviet people. We sincerely hope that they can overcome their difficulties and current situation. We want this in the interest of the entire world. Should we close our eyes? I am asking the party cadres: Should we put our heads in the sand like an ostrich? [People reply in chorus: No!] Is it not better for us to be aware of these dangers and realities? [People reply: Yes!] Well, this is precisely what it is all about when we commemorate so historic a date as this, when the enemy dreams again of wiping out the revolution and again turning this country into a Yankee neo-colony—now more than ever, when the enemy dreams of grabbing this country forever and turning it into a (?tomorrow) or something worse.

These are realities we should very much keep in mind. As I have told you, today we are a symbol. Everyone is watching to see what will happen in Cuba, what the Cuban people will do, what the Cuban people can do; all the people who preserve some vision for the world, who dream of progressive ideas, ideas of social justice, ideas

of national unity and independence; all the people who dream of [words indistinct]; all the people who in one way or another hate with all their souls the thought of a world governed by the Yankee empire with the reactionary and fascist ideas that capitalism has spawned during its development; all the people who know a little history, who have noble and truly humane ideas, concepts, and values, hope that there is resistance to that world and that the socialist ideas can survive. The tens of millions who live in shantytowns, the tens of millions of homeless children in Latin America, for instance; the tens and hundreds of millions of sick people without access to medicine, medical assistance, or schools; those who die of anything, even though they might be saved; the 200,000 children who die in Latin America every year who would not die if there was a basic health care system in these countries; the people who are exploited and prostituted; the millions of adolescents and adults forced to beg; the unemployed, the beggars, and the destitute of this world, are all offered as examples of the legacy of Yankee imperialism. Together with the rest of the developed capitalist world, the Yankee world is to blame for the Third World's poverty and misery. The only thing capitalism has brought to 4 billion human beings is hunger and misery, as we said recently. What hope is there for these people to have medical services, housing, water, a minimum of decorum in their lives, and security?

What a tremendous blow it would be if the imperialists could get away with the idea of wiping out this symbol and trench that Cuba is today! It is not only our interests, not only our abhorrence of that merciless system that our country experienced that are important. Yesterday we calculated how many teachers there were in 1959. There were 17,000 primary school teachers and approximately 20,000 professors and teachers.

I remembered that under the capitalist system it was almost impossible to create teaching or medical positions. There were, as I said before, 300,000 doctors, pardon me, 300,000 professors and teachers, but at varying levels. I can tell you that the capitalism that existed in Cuba a little over 30 years ago, as tough as it was, was not as bad as the capitalism that thousands, hundreds of millions, billions of people in the world are experiencing today. What is happening now is worse than what was happening in Cuba, and the situation is growing increasingly worse. Now they are offering neoliberalism, after demanding that the people pay the last cent of the debt. Everything is being privatized. Everything, of course, is being multinationalized. All the wealth is being surrendered to capitalist, developed countries to end the poverty that was created precisely by capitalism.

First it was colonialism, then neo-colonialism, then imperialism; summing it all up, this is the consequence of centuries of capitalist domination. Today Cuba is the trench where the most just, noble, and humane ideas are defended. We did not choose this destiny; it was assigned to us by history. We must defend socialism, national independence, and our people's dignity; we must defend the dreams and hopes of the exploited, humiliated, and suffering people of this world.

We all know that phrase that Marti wrote on the day before he died, which he had never said to anyone in such terms: All that I have done until today and all that I will do is to prevent the United States, through Cuba's independence—and this is a textual quote—from descending with fresh forces on the peoples of America. If Marti thought this and felt this way almost a century ago, when the United States was young, what would a thinker like him—a revolutionary, a fighter—say now had he come to know our current world, today's world, and had he shared our experiences?

History has given us this responsibility. We do not have to debate this with history. At best, we can say, Mr. History, thank you very much. When we are given a task that is truly worthy, great, of extraordinary historic significance, given to this little Caribbean country to fulfill this great responsibility, we can say that it has not been given to just any people. It has been given to a people that has the merit to complete it, that has the valiance to complete it, that has the heroism to complete it, that has the willingness to complete it. It has been given to a people that has resisted so many years, decades of aggression and blockade. It has been given to a people that has always been faithful to its ideas and principles, that knew how to complete not only its duties for itself but also its duties toward other countries. A people that has completed glorious internationalist pages. Now it has been given the most internationalist of all tasks—the most worthy and the most glorious—I ask you, as combatants, members of the party: Are we ready or not to fulfill them? [People shout: Yes!]

We know that we must fulfill these tasks. We know that we can. There is nothing [to stop us]. What could there be? We may lack resources, raw materials, and many things, but what we will never lack is pride, [applause] a sense of honor and duty, a sense of responsibility, not only toward the current and future generations of our country, but toward the billions of people throughout the world. We must prove to the imperialists that we will resist, that we can resist, and that we can win. [applause]

If it is necessary to prove this, if it is necessary to prove this [repeats himself], we will prove it; if someone has to prove this, we are that someone, and we will prove it. We will not disappoint the world; we will not disappoint the revolutionaries; we will not disappoint those who dream about a better world. We will not help extend a hateful and repugnant system for decades, perhaps centuries. We defend socialism, but we defend it now, not in 500 years. [applause] We will defend it now, not in 100 years; and those who live 100 years, or 500 years, will not feel ashamed about us. They will not despise us. They will feel admiration and gratitude for us. They will understand, as we clearly understand it today, the meaning of the ideas we defend; the meaning of the values that we defend. This is no longer a country of illiterate people; it

is a country of refined, educated people; politically experienced people; experienced and courageous people. We have to resist in two ways: We must endure the sacrifices that our situation or duty imposes on us if the worst variations occur in developments in the Soviet Union. We must also resist in the military sector.

We will tell the imperialists: No, you cannot defeat us in any way. No one will give them the country. No one will give them the revolution. No one will give them what we have watered with our sweat and blood for such a long time. No one will give them our history. No one will give them our liberty. No one will give them our independence. No one will give them our noble ideas. We will aptly defend them in every terrain; and if we have to do it by enduring deprivations, we will endure them—because we can never forget that those who started our independence struggle spent 10 years in the jungle, many times without shoes or clothes. Ten years! [Words indistinct] thought it was possible to struggle amid such difficult conditions, and against so many [word indistinct] forces that wanted the peace of El Zanjon. Mateo said: No! The best representatives of those heroical people said: No! The eternal Baragua rose from El Zanjon. [applause]

That is what we are. Mateo's heirs. The heirs of Baragua. The heirs of Marti, his ideas, and his determination to do what was necessary; to sacrifice his life to protect the homeland's independence; to guarantee the homeland's independence; to protect the independence of other American nations; and—we might say today—to protect the independence and hopes of many nations around the world.

We have inherited those ideas and without them and without having inherited those ideas, there would not have been a 1 January, there would not have been a Moncada, there would not have been a 1 January [repeats] because what we did in the Sierra Maestra was simply imitate what those who fought against hundreds of thousands of Spanish soldiers had done with a few weapons. This is what we did in the Sierra Maestra, not for as many years, but we could have been there until now or could have died there a long time ago. What we did was imitate them.

Had we not inherited those ideas, had the Bay of Pigs victory not taken place, the combatants would have trembled in the presence of the Yankee squads, aircraft carriers, cruisers, war vessels, and their Marines. They would not have fought as they did. They would not have positioned the tanks facing the squads as they did there, [applause] facing the squads as if they were saying: Here we are if you decide to land. We have had a beautiful history and, thanks to it, great people have been forged. There are many more examples: the October crisis, nuclear weapons, who knows how many missiles were pointed at us. Everyone here was calm and serene.

This is how they will find us in every circumstance in life: calm and serene. As things become more difficult we will be more level-headed, more serene, firmer, and more determined because we have the privilege of being what we are today and we are willing to continue being what we are. We are not going to prove our history wrong. So, [pause] long live the mothers of those fallen in the Bay of Pigs! [crowd applauds and responds: Viva!]

The communists, true communists were always heroic in the defense of their ideas and their cause. There have been great examples since the Paris commune and throughout many years. They fought a lot defending the Spanish Republic and defending Madrid against foreign troops; Hitler's, Mussolini's, or colonial troops; they defended humankind after the invasion of the USSR by Hitler's troops. We do not forget the 20 million dead. Others may forget them but we never will. [applause] The communists were in front of those combatants, in the front line in the most dangerous places, in front of the experienced fascist troops. Those are communists; that is the way you are. [applause]

I told you before that we have to be prepared to defeat imperialists in the field of material difficulties, no matter which ones they may be. We will have to be prepared to also teach them a lesson in the military field. We cannot forget their false sense of pride and their bragging about technology. With us fighting is man to man, combatant to combatant, up to the last combatant, to the last one. [applause]

We will guarantee that there will be resistance from the San Antonio Cape to the Maisi tip. [applause] in the plains and mountains, in the plains and mountains, [repeats] in the countryside and cities. The word capitulation or surrender [members of the crowd yell indistinct words] does not and will never have a place here. The cry of Camilo will always be in the air: Nobody surrenders here. [applause] I am told that it was not Camilo who said this, but that it was Almeida; but it could have been said by Camilo, Almeida, Raul, Che, and all the combatants of the Sierra Maestra. [applause] Those words, those words [repeats] have been eliminated from the dictionary. This applies to the first through the last of the combatants. This is why I told the students on 13 March: Each one of you has to be your own chief and your only chief. There is a single order that will not be complied with or obeyed ever and I hope that it will never come out of the mouth of any revolutionary chief: the word capitulation or surrender. [members of the crowd say: Never! and applaud]

[Unidentified woman in the crowd] I just want to say a few words so that you understand that the mothers of the Bay of Pigs martyrs [words indistinct] as of the world that fight for their freedom cannot place ourselves at the level of cowards. As far as I am concerned what happened in Grenada was a coward act. That was not courageous. A big power such as theirs was merciless with the smallest thing in the world. Do you understand? They are not courageous. We are valiant; they are cowards and treacherous.

[Castro] What happened in Grenada will never happen here because we will always be united in one single cause and one single banner. [prolonged applause and chanting]

Each person is his own chief. Each person is an army. Fighting in Cuba would have to be not against a revolution but against millions of revolutions, not against an army but against millions of armies. I ask myself if there is a force in the world that can squash that willingness to fight no matter how many laser bombs, how many cruise missiles, or how many of those shells that radars do not see.... [changes thought] Yes, we do not disregard technology. We know that. We do not disregard the technical advantages and the number of weapons. We do know what our advantages are and those are inside here [Castro points to his heart] [applause] and are in the intellect, in the ideas, in the way of fighting. The difference is not as great as the one that existed when we began to fight against Batista. [chuckles]

The difference that existed between our little rifles and Batista's Sherman tanks was much greater than the one between the laser bombs and the Yankee-exploding mines, [crowd laughs] with the pieces of iron we have and the ones we build. We know what we have and what they are good for, each one of them. We know what a man with a rifle, a grenade, a mine is worth. The time comes when all that technology is not worth anything, all that technology they use as a shield.

You already saw that they spent a month bombing and were afraid to launch the land forces in the Gulf. What they want is an easy catch and here the catch is going to be as difficult as climbing Mount Everest. [applause] We know what we have when we can resist and overcome. This is not a phrase. It is not a word. We do not like to talk a lot. We are not saying that we are going to sink battleships or anything like that. We are going to sink the ones that get in here. Their massive attacks are not going to scare us. It is very difficult for a bomb to hit a man. Sometimes massive attacks were launched against us in a small area of the Sierra. People learned how to resist the air force and artillery massive attacks. Man learns everything. It is necessary that we have full control of all our resources and our possibilities and know how to do things in each circumstance. We should start with our conviction and our determination to resist under any circumstance, whether it is in the battlefield, the field of the economic war, or in the military field.

I am certain that this small country, with its determination, can halt.... [changes thought] If those who fear are the ones to attack, the ones with fear.... [changes thought] Imperialists are like picudas and sharks. If the swimmer turns his back, they show their teeth and begin to.... [changes thought] Imperialists are like beasts. If someone turns his back, this provokes their persecution instinct. We will always face them.

I already said that we will not be the ones to provoke a war. As I explained to the students, wars should not be provoked. If they break out they have to be waged well. After they break out, they can only end with victory or death. [corrects himself] better said, with victory. [applause] In spite of those airs and that Yankee arrogance they should know what we are feelings, our thoughts, and what our will is.

We do not have to be worried that there are some weak ones. There will always be weak ones. There will always be one coward or another [words indistinct]. The important thing is that there are many courageous people, many. In southern Angola there were over 50,000 only a few months ago. They not only had the courage to face a potentially very powerful adversary but they knew how to wage the war with intelligence, with all the necessary intelligence, and they achieved victory, 50,000 courageous people. There could have been half a million there. There are enough virtues in our people for half a million combatants. There are enough virtues for a million and even more—virtues to defend the fatherland and the revolution; there are many millions here, many millions. [repeats] [applause]

You, comrades of the party, are cadres and militants. As I said before, the true communists have always known how to be heroic and that is what is needed today, heroism. Example is what is needed the most.

You have to be like the ones in the Paris commune or the ones who defended Moscow, or the ones who defended Volgograd or Stalingrad—it is not our business to decide what to call that city; that is a matter for those who call it one thing today and another tomorrow. [applause] During that time, I remember that when I was a student it was called Stalingrad and the name was later changed to Volgograd. I do not know if anyone else can come later and name it after a czarina. Nobody knows.

You have to be like the ones who put heroism in the history books, something only the communists are capable of, as well as being an example. We are seeing things such as the mobilizations in our capital. Over 100,000 citizens of our capital have worked in agricultural tasks in Havana Province in the last seven or eight months. Some 17,000 went to the Pinar del Rio Province. We who have frequently visited those collectives have seen them work there with true communist spirit. I never saw people working, throughout all these years, from the first harvests until today, as we have seen these mobilized workers work. They get up at 0530, before dawn, and return to the camps at sunset. I have seen them in the camps but I have also seen them in the fields. I have seen how they work, with how much love, with how much dedication. It is impressive. They have sowed their example among agriculture workers who are now working much more than before. They have influenced the population of the area, the peasants.

How much satisfaction do we feel to know that over 50 percent of those who have been there are militants of the party or of the Union of Young Communists [UJC]? This is what gives communists prestige [applause] and

what gives the party prestige. How much satisfaction did we feel to see that in the camp there was a municipal bureau member and a People's Government leader at all times? How much satisfaction did we feel because Comrade Lezcano, first secretary of the party in Havana City, was there? [applause] [camera shows Lezcano] All the members of the main bureau, the cadres, the leaders go there to work hard. Some comrades who are no longer adolescents go there. [It is also satisfying] to know that the president of the People's Government in Havana, Comrade [Pedro] Chavez, was also there. [applause]

This is what gives prestige and strength to the party, being an example, being in constant touch with the masses—today more than ever—in constant touch with the people, and being the first one in combat whether it is combat in the field of ideas or the field of weapons. We have to fight hard in the field of ideas. We have to be decisive and be prepared more than ever to fight the enemy in this field, defending our ideas, the most just, the most beautiful and noble ones in the face of he who lets himself get confused, the one who hesitates, who does not understand.

When I spoke of how the special period was being carried out I did not mention one of the greatest efforts, the efforts we are carrying out in the preparation of the military field, in the field of defense, in the field of fortifications. There are dozens of thousands of men working in this field. The effort the country is making in this respect is enormous. The country has not been careless for a minute. On the contrary, they have multiplied.

Let us remember what Marti said: Trenches of ideas are more valuable than trenches of stone. We have to strengthen ideas and we have to fortify ourselves in the field of ideas. We have to strengthen ideas [words indistinct] because we have to wage the battle in those two fields. It is as important to make trenches or something more than trenches, but it is also very important to clarify, strengthen, and defend ideas with courageousness and heroism. Some think that because they believe the socialist camp has fallen Cuba has to necessarily fall. [members of the crowd yell: No!] Some doubt or want [words indistinct] doubt.

That is why I am telling you that this aspect is also very important, and it is the task of the party, party members, communist youth, and all revolutionaries, because there are many, many, many revolutionaries who are not in the party, or who are not in the communist youth organization. When I visit those camps where I have said that half are communists, because they are party members, communist youth members, I ask myself: What are the others? What are the other half? What are those men and women who work 10, 12, 13, 14 hours a day with infinite generosity and extraordinary unselfishness?

They may not have gone through the process the party members have, for some reason of form, or for lack of time, or for whatever reason, or because not everyone can be in the party; but they are communists. These comrades in the contingents, what are they—the ones who build dairy complexes, dams, canals, camps, or hotels or whatever, and work 14 or 15 hours a day, when there is fuel for working or when it is necessary to work and the materials are there? So this is the result of political work, revolutionary work, ideological work, and these people are capable of transforming the world.

That is what I have seen out there. They are not only manual workers. There are camps with many intellectual workers. I mean they are not in the [word: ndistinct] they are in offices, they are in other activities. In the camp run by the Ministry of Foreign Relations in Havana Province, or the one run by the Ministry of Foreign Trade, I have seen ambassadors, vice ministers [words indistinct] I have seen people from different organizations who are not used to manual labor. I have seen people there who have [words indistinct] three times a year.

This is a sign of prestige in my eyes. I have seen them working there in the fields without resting, and making an enormous effort because they are not used to it. They spend two weeks, and when their blisters start to go away, the two weeks are over. They spend two weeks working as if they were, well, [words indistinct] I have seen this effort with admiration, and there are more than 100,000 people in Havana Province alone who have gone from our capital.

We must pay homage to these workers. Right now in this special period when we are paying homage to those who fell at the Bay of Pigs, I also wish to pay homage to the hundreds of thousands of workers who are harvesting the sugar under such difficult conditions. [applause] Many of them are volunteer workers. I wish to pay homage to the hundreds of thousands of construction workers; the tens of thousands of workers in the contingents who are building dams, and canals, and the engineering system for rice, and terraces, and plot drainage for sugarcane; the hundreds of thousands of workers in our industries who with so much difficulty are maintaining production and keeping the machinery working when there are raw materials; the tens of thousands of doctors who are keeping our health service in the best condition in spite of the problems; the hundreds of thousands of teachers and professors who are keeping our universities and middle-level institutes working in spite of material shortages, keeping them working with the hignest quality possible.

New contingents have arisen, the agricultural contingents, which also have great potential, in my opinion, from what I have been able to observe of their work. We must pay homage to our scientific workers, and the enormous effort they are making in creating and developing new things to help the country and the country's economy. I want to pay homage to those who have been mobilized, who are in the camps and in the fields. In short, I want to pay homage to our workers, those who work in decisive areas, or fishing, or the merchant marine, or transportation, in spite of all the difficulties.

We must pay homage to our workers in the press, who even without paper.... [rephrases] Because paper is one of the things that has disappeared, one of the things that previously was imported, we must keep what little we have in warehouses in order to continue those modest editions. Somehow or other, even if it is like it was in the time of the CUBANO LIBRE, the MANIGUA REDENTORA, our newspapers will be printed, even if they are only one page long, one page per week. [applause]

In short, we must pay homage today to our self-sacrificing and courageous people, firm people, uncompromising people, who do not want to hear anything about weaknesses, who do not want to hear anything about concessions. Imperialism does not make concessions. Capitalism does not make concessions. Neo-liberalism demands more and more that everything be privatized, and that in addition to paying everything down to the last cent, they throw doctors and teachers out in the street because there cannot be the least imbalance in the budget. This is what the World Bank and the IMF demand, and that everything be privatized, even parks, as is being done in some countries.

Neo-liberalism, capitalism, and imperialism make no concessions. Socialism cannot make concessions. Our socialism will never make concessions of principle. [applause] No one should dream that Cuban socialism will make concessions, or that the Cuban revolution will make concessions. Because we will have a party, a single party, as is fitting for the revolutionary phase, a single party like the one founded by Jose Marti to carry forward the war for independence. [applause]

There will be no market economy, or whatever they call that mess that has nothing to do with socialism. Our economy will be a programmed economy, a planned economy. We do not believe in that craziness that says that the country can be developed through spontaneous mechanisms. The more limited the resources are, the more decisive it is to use them (?within what is rational and optimum). Our revolution will not make concessions of principle. It is good for this to be known. Every once in a while [words indistinct] make concessions to imperialism as if [words indistinct]. You already know what happened [words indistinct] multiparty. That is what they are after. The communists ran in the elections and won, but [words indistinct] the communists had to be thrown out some way or another, the people thrown out on the street and all kinds of problems created, and throw out the government that had won the elections. Because after making one concession, they demand all concessions, and finally they demand one's head.

That is the philosophy and that is the law. Counterrevolution has its laws. Reaction, the reactionary movement in history, has its laws. There is nothing more cruel than counterrevolutions. There is nothing more cruel than victorious reaction. In those countries that were forced to make concessions, they did not delay any time at all in demanding more and more and more. Here we recommend that they demand less and less and less, because they are not going to receive any concessions. [applause]

We are not dogmatic. No, we are realistic. We handle with a pragmatic spirit all those things that in practice may be useful. We know what the essential and untouchable principles of our revolutionary process are. Under the special conditions of the special period, and also aware that different forms of international cooperation may be useful, we have talked with foreign, capitalist businessmen. Let them come to propose some deal; we will analyze it. If they say: Look, you are getting out 12 barrels of oil and we have the technology to get out 24. If we can come to an agreement and they will pay us with that difference, or not that difference, part of that difference, we will say yes, very good. If a capitalist comes and has technology and a market and capital, and wants to [words indistinct] this is something that is to his benefit and is to our benefit, then we will say yes, very good, sir.

In Cuba there is a government of the people. It is the people of Cuba, and watches over the interests of the Cuban people. It is a government that does not sell out to any capitalist or for any gold in the world. If you propose something that interests this people and is useful to this people, we are willing to discuss it, negotiate it. This is how the ideas about the joint enterprises for the hotels came up. We wish they were ours. That would be easier to handle. There was no capital, however. We could not build hundreds of hotels. Well, sirs, we have the rocks, sand, cement, labor force, and equipment. You bring.... [rephrases] You put in your part and we will both be the owners. We do this with practical sense. We are not violating a principle of socialism.

We do know that when we are building a rice complex, we are not going to call on any capitalist to build a rice complex so that we would have to pay in dollars for rice we grow here. We know where, in what places, at what points, and under what conditions we can accept joint investment. We have a government of the people, a socialist system, a planned economy, planned development. This does not mean we are dogmatic. A social system that owns the country and works for the country's interests can take the liberty of knowing and deciding where there is something that would be beneficial, and where it would not be beneficial, we will say no.

This idea arose about 10 years ago. It has developed more in recent times. There have been many, a relatively high number of capitalists who have come to us with proposals. They say: If the raw materials run out, that factory is going to stop its operations. It has stopped because there are no raw materials. I am willing to put up the raw materials. Let us make a deal. We say: We have the factory and the workers. You have a market. Well, bring the raw materials and let us make a deal. We will be partners in this deal rather than having the factory stop for lack of raw materials.

So they come and we have outstanding comrades who hear all the offers and analyze them. In the special period many of these circumstances may occur. A cement factory may suddenly stop operating because it has no fuel. This has happened, and cement production has dropped a lot. The thing is that there is a lot of construction going on because we are saving more cement than ever. We can say: You put up the fuel, and we will sell cement. We can have an operation of this kind rather than have the factory stop operating. So with practical sense, we hear many of these cases and we analyze them very carefully.

There are these possibilities, and the country has to use these possibilities in the special period. This is what I mean when I say we are not dogmatic. We analyze each of these problems with a lot of common sense and realism. As for our internal things, there is no dogmatism either. There may be some way.... [rephrases] We know very well what cannot be done. We know this well because we have already had experience with things that were copied from somewhere else. There may be things that are useful. For example, we are now entering the bicycle age, as we say. [Words indistinct] this year, and then millions of bicycles. We may be able to find some form of participation for people who service bicycles.

I will give an example. If we have too many people, things like this are not excluded by our principles or our policies. Because the special period may force us, since there may be a surplus of personnel [words indistinct] happened other times. A construction worker was laid off from a hospital. An illegal vendor hired him, and he went running off, stole some construction materials, he was given a pile of money, and that was what we got from that [words indistinct] in many places. We must know in what fields and what areas, and when we took rectification measures we even analyzed this—in what case you can do one thing, in what case you can do another, and in what case you cannot do this—with a lot of practical sense and without dogmatism. I have given something internal as an example.

In this special period, under these circumstances, these are the characteristics of a true revolutionary process. We are clear about what the goals are, what the standards and principles are, what can be done and what cannot be done. I think our revolution is mature enough for all this. This is what I mean when I say we will not be dogmatic, and we are not dogmatic. We have the ability to analyze each specific thing, what will be of benefit to the country, and what does not conflict with socialism's principles and goals.

We must be more intelligent, more capable than ever, just as the circumstances demand. It is very good that on this 19 April we should say to the imperialists what we think, and that they should not dream of even the smallest concession of principles by the Cuban revolution. [applause] We will defend the first to the last principle with the same determination. They cannot open cracks in our ideology. [Passage indistinct] 90 percent.

There is no country in the world where the people can participate in their fate to the extent that they can in our country. There is no regime more democratic than a socialist one, which cannot exist without the people and without the people's active participation and the people's defense. Can there be a more democratic system than the one for which the men and women of the people are willing to give their blood? Who would defend this revolution against the imperialist monster, if not the people, the armed people, and the workers, peasants, and students? They certainly deserve special recognition today, and the young people, for the brilliant revolutionary battles and activities they have been carrying out in recent times. [applause]

How could it exist without the armed participation of the people? Because in addition to our democratic, electoral mechanisms, we also have an armed people. Let them arm their people over there. Let the imperialists give them their recipe, not the one for privatizing parks but for giving guns to the workers, peasants, and students, and they will see how long the consumerist capitalism that exists in the Third World will last. We will not let ourselves be swindled or fooled or confused by imperialist and reactionary verbiage and politicking. We are adult enough and mature enough to know what we have to do.

Today we have had the privilege of seeing here the mothers, many mothers of revolutionary combatants who fell in those glorious days of April 1961. We have had the privilege of listening to some of those who wanted to express their feelings with all the moral authority given to them by having contributed their children's precious lives to the nation. There are many mothers throughout the country, those who saw their children die at Moncada, or on the Granma, or in the Sierra Maestra, or the Escambray, or on internationalist missions, in so many heroic tasks of the revolution.

Spiritually the mothers of Maceo's followers are also here. We have them in our memories and hearts. The mother of Marti, the mothers of those who began the war for independence, the mothers of those who were at Baragua are here with us. They did their duty. They gave everything for the nation. They gave everything for the country's independence, the nation's dignity, the revolution, and socialism, because revolution today is socialism. It cannot be otherwise.

What can we say to them, all of them, in commemorating this glorious day? In a very few words, an essential idea: We will be faithful to those who died defending the nation's glories and the nation's interests. We will know how to be like them. We will know how to die like they did, defending the revolution and the nation. [applause] Socialism or death, fatherland or death, we will win! [applause]

Carlos Lage Militia Day Speech in Havana

FL1904233891 Havana Radio and Television Networks in Spanish 1242 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Speech by Carlos Lage Davila, alternate member of the Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, during the ceremony marking the 30th anniversary of the proclamation of the socialist character of the Cuban revolution and Militia Day held at the Camilo Cienfuegos Revolutionary Armed Forces Military Academy in Havana—live]

[Text] Comrade Army General Raul Castro, second secretary of the Central Committee of our party and minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, Comrades:

To mark the 30 years that have gone by since the declaration of the socialist character of the Cuban revolution at a time in which there has been a final eclipse of socialism for many could appear as an utopia or a lack of realism. It is true that today entire countries that had partially conquered the possibility of a turn toward a more humane society, where the free man could consciously build his own future, decided to jump in midair and go back in history. It is true that in others, powerful forces are struggling to impose that false solution to the problems they face and, regretably, if they did implement it eventually, their peoples will understand when it is too late that they had ran toward a gigantic dead-end street.

This is also the time when many Third World countries had their hopes of liberation and progress on a noncapitalist way of development and in which the solidarity with a socialist camp played a role and its existence and prevented direct aggression, the neocolonial submission lost faith and concluded that without capitalism they could not be able to resist the siege. Nevertheless, this is the time when we commemorate that 16 April when we buried our martyrs fallen in the combat that was a prelude of the Bay of Pigs victory. We proclaim with firm and certain voice our faith in socialism as the only alternative of independence and progress of our fatherland. [applause]

We have been able to count with the unity of the people to achieve victory for the first time in our history since the triumph of the revolution of 1 January 1959. The change taken place in our society was precisely what conditioned unity thanks to socialism by liberating the Cuban people from their internal contradictions inasmuch as the causes of their deepest divisions were eliminated. This has been the key of Fidel's thinking and ideas in outlining the road of the Cuban revolution. In this way, prior to the trip to Bay of Pigs, toward victory, he made the Cuban revolutionaries feel that they carried in their packs the definite dreams of redemption of the Cuban nation.

Fidel, by declaring the socialist character of the revolution 30 years ago, was revealing all the wishes of freedom, independence, and justice, the revolutionary spirit of Cubans had as Eduardo Garcia Delgado had shown hours before by writing with his blood on the door in which he waited for his death Fidel's name.

The capitalist society cannot offer a true humane sense of life. It is not capable of offering anything more than what it has in its store windows which is just a dream for many. When the capitalist society prevailed in our fatherland, Fidel took the people through the road of the revolution against a society of opulent luxuries of a minority to give food to the hungry, work to the unemployed, and education to the uneducated. It is disgusting to think for an instant that that society could return to Cuba. The island would be a county of Florida, a sub-Cuba in which a sub-bourgeoisie would thrive. It would fill us of disgrace, scantiness, and pain of the people. To think of what would be of Cuba without socialism is reason enough to defend our socialism with our teeth.

Today, 16 April, Militia Day, we should be more aware than ever, as we were in the Bay of Pigs, that the defense of the revolution and the fatherland should not be entrusted to anyone. The Yankee invasion of Grenada, Panama, and more recently the war against Iraq, shows us the prepotency, arrogance, and contempt of the people with which the imperialists act in a world that has decided to free their hands and even support their atrocities.

The changes that have taken place in the last few years increase the threat of a military attack on Cuba. We should know this and, therefore, prepare ourselves. Above all, we should strengthen the conviction that Fidel has transmitted to us that each one of the 10 million Cubans is the revolution. As the fisherman in the "Old Man and the Sea," we can be destroyed but not defeated.

We do not want war and will do everything possible to prevent it by preparing for it and maintaining ourselves firm in our principles. But this is not the only challenge. The final victory of socialism in our fatherland can be decided in the economic field. That battle, a lot less cruel one, does not demand the exceptional heroism of an instant but demands that courage, faith, and heroism does not go away for an instant.

Today we have difficulties and shortages which can be unavoidably greater in the near future. In spite of this, nobody in Cuba will go to bed hungry as many millions of human beings in the world do. Nobody in Cuba will lack a doctor or a hospital bed. Our students will have better and better classrooms, books, and teachers. Nobody will be unemployed. There will be no basic good prices that are not at the reach of everyone. There will be difficulties but they will be temporary. All of us will have them.

In no country in the world is wealth better distributed than in Cuba. It will be distributed more and more. We will not distribute factories, businesses, or land to solve our problems or will we turn a few thousands into capitalist condemning millions to despair. Nevertheless,

the elimination of the socialist camp and the growing difficulties the Soviet Union is going through, cannot take place without grave consequences to our economy. Over 85 percent of our trade took place with the Soviet Union and socialist countries. The imperialist blockade prevents to a great degree that we receive credits and preferential prices for our goods. Unequal trade falls upon Cuba with all its force. Any economy would have collapsed with what we have stopped receiving. What has been achieved during these years of socialism, the effort of the people, and Fidel's vision, have allowed us to dodge those difficulties and prepare us to face even greater difficulties with serenity and optimism.

Our economy needs time to adapt itself to this colossal adversity and go forward. We have outlined a strategy to face the current and unpredictable difficulties. We will stop our social programs for a few years and will focus all of our available resources on whatever generates a faster development. We will make the greatest effort to satisfy the basic needs of the population. We will boost the food program. We will quickly obtain the greatest benefit of the advances of science, technology, and the talent of the people. We will give a strong boost to the pharmaceutical industry, biotechnology, and tourism.

Socialism can and should be perfected. Socialism can and should rectify its mistakes. In our case, we are doing it. Socialism under our conditions is being built with centralized planning of the economy, with a single party, with discipline and political will. This is not the time for theories or many experiments. The challenge we have before us demands in order to save the country and socialism is to close ranks with the party and Fidel and sweat the shirts a lot. Those who hesitate, who give up, who want to be careful in the case the mistakes that have taken place in other latitudes occur here, are hiding in false demands of change and copies without realizing that this is a country of rebels and that there is a deep revolution that would not know how to go backward. If we were to stop the struggle for an instant, our future would be a sea of blood and later of hunger.

No concessions will be made no matter how difficult the situation may be. The road to concessions is that of the humiliating defeat. If demands of change are made today it is only to impose on us another greater one and finally demand that we abandon socialism. Imperialism today does not stop from using its tricks to attempt to impose a multiparty system used as a magical formula which, according to them, is valid in different circumstances as the ones existing in Western Europe and Africa. There is nothing more dogmatic and absurd. The only reason for a multiparty system in Cuba would be the existence of a pro-imperialist party, a party of traitors, of those who left the fatherland and joined in the attacks against our people during these years of socialism.

Our enemies get tired of trying to show that human rights are violated in Cuba. Whomever wanted to seriously talk about human rights would have to begin criticizing the Yankee blockade against Cuba, a criminal, arbitrary, and inhuman act. Whomever wanted to seriously talk about human rights would have to recognize that the most humane of all rights, the right to life, health, education, social tranquility, and work, are guaranteed in Cuba as in no other Third World country and as they are not guaranteed in many developed countries. To liberate man—as it has happened in Cuba—of the shameful humiliation of the more and more social inequalities is a human right that is rarely mentioned. There, where some own planes, buildings, and palaces while others do not have money to buy a medicine to cure a child. A lot more needs to be done there with human rights than in Cuba.

We are not to blame if the imperialist campaigns confuse some and scare others. We are not confused or scared by them. We will not leave cracks for the enemy. There will be a single party here because there is a single people and a single revolution and the rights will be those of our people and not of their enemies. [applause]

Our history shows that faith has moved mountains and that a setback only indicates the time in which fighting should be intensified. After the setback suffered in Yara, Cespedes said 12 men were enough to obtain Cuba's independence. Agramonte said if there were no weapons we would fight with our honor. Maceo faced the pact without the independence of Sanjon. Marti did not abandon the struggle after the Fernandina defeat. Fidel did not abandon it after the Moncada and Granma and the meeting in Cinco Palmas with Raul when there was a total of eight men and five rifles. With this, they left us one of the greatest examples of unyielding will and faith in the future.

We understand well how difficult the situation we face is and the dangers that threaten us. We do not underestimate them. We will fight even with the risk of making the greatest sacrifices. Death is cruel because it can take away from us the work of the dreams but the revolution has shown us that submission, surrender, and slavery are even more cruel. Life is beautiful but the revolution has taught us it is truly beautiful when it is lived with decorum and the free air of the fatherland can be openly breathed.

We are aware, as never before, of the happiness socialism has meant and means for all and the need to defend it and perfect it. We know that to save socialism is to save the fatherland and that Cuba is today for socialism, from this part of the world, what Baragua was for our pro-independence struggle. Our will, that of millions of Cubans, is the one proclaimed with the weapons waved high on that 16 April. All the stars in the sky will stop shining before we stop carrying out our duties with the fatherland. Long live the Communist Party of Cuba! [crowd answers: "Viva!"] Long live socialism! [crowd answers: "Viva!"] Long live Fidel! [crowd answers: "Viva!"] Socialism or death! Fatherland or death! We will win! [crowd joins in: "We will win!"] [applause]

CTC Leader Pedro Ross' Militia Day Speech

FL1904200591 Havana Radio and Television Networks in Spanish 1231 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Speech by Pedro Ross Leal, secretary general of the Cuban Workers Federation (CTC), during the ceremony marking the 30th anniversary of the proclamation of the socialist character of the Cuban revolution and Militia Day at the Camilo Cienfuegos Revolutionary Armed Forces Military Academy in Havana—live]

[Text] Comrade Army General Raul Castro Ruz, second secretary of our party and minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces [FAR], comrades:

How many memories and emotions surface when we meet with you to mark the 30th anniversary of the proclamation of the socialist character of the revolution and militia day. On that day, a sea of armed hands rose to show our determination to defend socialism. Many of you had not been born yet or were too young. We could say that you are different men from them biologically, but not as patriots and revolutionaries because here we are part of the same armed people, the same working class, the same workers, who on that day chose socialism as a road and today say without fear: Socialism or death, aware of what that phrase means.

Today we experience the same unwavering determination of the days that preceded the Bay of Pigs. In addition, the militia men ourselves are the ones who celebrate our day. Our numbers are larger now and the quality of weapons is better. We have superior military training and more of us know our place and what our missions are at the time of combat. We also know that we defend in the same way that those at Bay of Pigs, those in the fight against bandits, and those who carried out many other heroic actions did, those who wrote their names with blood in the beautiful and heroic history of the fatherland.

In the Bay of Pigs we defended great realities, the revolution itself, and many dreams. Today we also defend many of those dreams, but they have become a reality with our own work. We also defend many other dreams we are making come true now. We will know how to guarantee them with today's efforts and with these weapons we show with pride, privilege, and the duty of patriots. These weapons, our lives, our patriotic convictions, our tenacity, and intelligence will guarantee that we will preserve everything we have and also guarantee that we will overcome the difficulties of the conditions that this first stage of the special period imposes on us and those that the constant hounding of Yankee imperialism force upon us.

This attitude is summed up in the slogan we will use on May Day: Everything for our socialism. We say everything because there will be no alternative in our country other than socialism, that is, there will be no alternative for the fatherland other than death.

Comrade Army General Raul Castro Ruz, all workers, the labor unions grouping them, and the CTC [Cuban Workers Federation], with full awareness of why we are preparing ourselves, have dedicated millions of hours to military training, to the building of projects for the protection of combat technology. We will do it now faster to protect each one of the citizens of the country. We have also contributed part of our salaries to the financing of the Territorial Troops Militia [MTT]. That figure is also the result of the 1990 voluntary donations of students, peasants, housewives, and retired people. It amounts to 33.5 million pesos. We present it to you on behalf of all the organs and organizations which compose the national commission for the financing of the MTT on behalf of all the Cuban patriots, on behalf of our people.

With all of them and with all the strength in our throats which reflects our thoughts and our hearts, we cry today to warn the priggish and enemies: With Fidel, socialism or death; with Fidel, fatherland or death; with Fidel, we will win; always until victory. [applause]

Alarcon on Relations With U.S., Spain, Colombia

FL1904223891 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1932 GMT 19 Apr 91

[Text] Ricardo Alarcon, first vice minister [title as heard] of the Minrex [Ministry of Foreign Relations] and Cuban representative to the UN Security Council, commented during a news conference today that our country will defend its national dignity and socialist steadfastness against any of Washington's anti-Cuba maneuvers. Alarcon added that the anti-Cuban policies of the White House will become more evident due to the euphoria and triumphant sentiments sweeping the United States after the Persian Gulf war and the changes that have taken place in Eastern Europe.

The Cuban diplomat characterized as prejudiced and incoherent the comments made in Costa Rica by [Spanish] Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, who stated that the king of Spain would not visit Cuba as long as there is no democracy. Alarcon added that he is unaware of what Fernandez-Ordonez understands by democracy or what the Spanish king thinks of that statement.

During the conference, conducted at the new Minrex international press center, Ricardo Alarcon said our country was invited to the next Ibero-American summit in Mexico and that preliminary arrangements are being made. He also described the vote against Cuba cast by Argentina at the Human Rights Commission in Geneva as damaging to Latin American solidarity. He commented on the will and pleasure of a visit to Cuba by Pope John Paul II. [sentence as heard] He added that Cuban relations with Colombia are friendly even if they are not formal.

While answering some more questions, Alarcon stated that the two-hour-long talk between Malmierca and [U.S. Secretary of State] Baker in New York dealt with the Persian Gulf alone.

The high-level Minrex official took some time to criticize U.S. manipulation of the UN Security Council to obtain a resolution on Iraq which is contrary to the San Francisco charter.

TASS Cited on Ways To Improve U.S. Relations

FL1904004591 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 2300 GMT 18 Apr 91

[Text] The economic blockade and the U.S. threats against Cuba are hindering the reestablishment of relations between the two countries. This was said today by (Nikolay Shigil), as reported by PRENSA LATINA. The TASS news agency commentator asserted that one of the possible ways of improving ties between the two countries could be the end of the economic blockade imposed by Washington against Cuba over 30 years ago.

The article written on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the Bay of Pigs victory of April 1961 points out the historic importance the event has for Latin America.

Commentary Views 'Rebuilding of Eastern Europe'

FL1804224291 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1155 GMT 18 Apr 91

["Our Opinion" commentary by Ariel Larramendi Vinafane]

[Text] After the socialist system went bankrupt West European-style, which resulted in the elimination of CEMA and its financial institution, the former socialist countries are in urgent need of hard cash to build capitalism. Without thinking twice, the Western nations, some Third World country or another, and the Soviet Union created the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, inaugurated two days ago in London. The bank, called the first financial institution of the new order, has as a goal to provide macroeconomic aid to Eastern European countries in their transition to a free-market economy.

According to U.S. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, the first priority should be the development of the private sector. This leads to the second priority—also suggested by the United States—to help privatize the current enterprises in the countries that would benefit from the bank's loans. The other U.S. requests include that the new banking institution give a large boost to the development of capital markets and that it encourage plans for the preservation of the environment.

Although the idea of creating the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development was not that of the United States but of France, with the support of other European Community countries, the Americans are the main contributors of the initial capital—10 percent—which gives it a privileged position compared to its partners [preceding word rendered in English] regarding the policy to follow. This is why the Soviet Union—which contributed 6 percent of the initial capital—cannot get more credits than the amount equivalent to its constituting capital. This establishes a limit to the Soviet country's hopes to obtain resources.

According to many economy specialists, the recently created organization is unique. As it was pointed out, its main mission—to provide help to the private enterprise and to encourage the privatization of state enterprises—is aimed at directing efforts toward the economic base and strengthening it within the framework of the capitalist system. As a result, the superstructure created in the future cannot be other than that of the emerging bourgeoisie in each Eastern European country and the investing multinational corporations. The formula is very simple: to reinforce the capitalist economic base so that its superstructure is indefectibly of a capitalist nature.

Apparently, the new executives of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development know very well what is involved in what they call the rebuilding of Eastern Europe. This is what it is.

Last Group of Internationalists Returns From Iraq

FL2004125591 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1100 GMT 20 Apr 91

[Text] Another group of internationalist workers arrived in our country last night from Iraq. Ernesto Melendez, minister president of the State Committee for Economic Cooperation, and representatives of the national leadership of the Cuban Women's Federation came to meet them at the airport. This is the last group of the 176 health workers who provided medical care in Iraq. Some of them recounted their experiences during the Persian Gulf war.

[Begin recording] [First unidentified speaker] It was an experience that.... [rephrases] Well, we ran the risk of dying, a life or death situation, and we remained very firm. All the Cubans there worked very hard, with a lot of determination, a lot of experience. We did not sleep at all during this type of war. We worked in the shelter constantly, all day. It was a historic experience we lived through.

[Second unidentified speaker] We had a very great experience. It was not like here in Cuba. We were able to see and observe how, where I worked with premature babies, for example, the children were abandoned and so were the other patients. We had to take them down the stairs carrying lighted candles and matches during the bombings because all the Iraqi doctors and nurses abandoned the patients. We Cubans were the only ones who stayed to the end. We even treated the premature babies. Where I worked, we had to make the milk ourselves so they could be fed. There were four and five babies in the

same incubator. We had to carry the patients who were in labor down the stairs from the sixth to the first floor.

[Unidentified reporter] What was the position of the group?

[Second unidentified speaker] The position of the group was a positive position, because as you have seen, we stayed to the end.

[Unidentified reporter] Thank you very much. [end recording]

Troops Return From Angola; Greeted by Officials

FL2204130491 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1100 GMT 22 Apr 91

[Text] During the early hours of the morning, another group of internationalist soldiers returned to our country from the People's Republic of Angola after fulfilling their honorable mission in this other part of the world. Joel Domenech, vice president of the executive committee of the Council of Ministers and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, and Manuel Vila Sosa, minister of domestic trade, greeted the troops at the airport terminal.

Soviet Mayors' Delegation Meets Minrex Officials

FL1804145991 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1000 GMT 18 Apr 91

[Text] Yesterday afternoon the Cuban-Soviet Friendship Association and the Ministry of Foreign Relations [Minrex] held a meeting with a delegation of mayors from the southern Ukraine and Russia who are visiting our country. Among the Soviet visitors are the mayors of Odessa, Rostov na Donu, (Zaporozhye), (Yeltsov), Nikolayev, Simferopol, Krasnodar, and Belgorod. The Cuban hosts were Julio Chaviano Fundora, vice president of the Cuban-Soviet Friendship Association; Alfonso Fraga, chief of the Minrex Europe Directorate; and Arturo Pollo, Cuban consul general in Odessa.

The meeting took place in a fraternal climate, and important subjects such as the strengthening of the ties of friendship between the two peoples were discussed. Likewise, it was stressed that under current conditions, this association can also participate in carrying out the different economic and political contacts between Cuba and the USSR. The mayor of Odessa stressed the friendship that joins us and gave the association a replica of a ship of the Black Sea fleet.

Working Visit Concludes

FL2004174591 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 20 Apr 91

[Text] A group of Soviet mayors who visited Cuba at the invitation of the Havana Assembly of the People's Government have now left to return to their country. During their stay in Cuba, the Soviet officials met with party and People's Government leaders, and visited various places of economic and social interest. The aim of their visit was to exchange experiences about the structure and functioning of government bodies, the ties of cooperation between the two countries, and to establish direct contacts for economic activity. According to the visitors, there are now plans for cooperation in the future, especially in the field of health.

* Trash Collection in Havana Said Difficult

91P40225A Havana TRIBUNA DE LA HABANA in Spanish 22 Mar 91 p 4

[Article by Raimundo Diaz Rosell]

[Text] The city is experiencing difficulties with regard to trash collection. One need only walk the streets to see it. The street corners turned minidumps could become a serious health and image problem for the capital. Nevertheless, the solution lies not only with the state entities that provide this service, but also with the population's discipline and attitude towards hygiene.

The situation is growing more acute under the circumstances the country is currently experiencing. According to Nestor Marimon, member of the executive committee of the People's Government in Havana, which has responsibility for health and community services, there have been problems with the collection equipment due to the shortage of spare parts. This is demanding creativity on the part of repair shops on a daily basis.

The country already has an answer for 138 types of replacement parts as a result of resourcefulness and innovations in various centers, but there is still no answer for more than 40. But all is not lost. There are alternative measures which contribute to hygiene. I can say that this activity is a top priority during the special period. Fuel for the trucks is guaranteed. The alternatives being sought involve the use of draft animals. Close to 100 horse-drawn carts are already being used for collection in outlying municipalities such as Boyeros, Cotorro, La Lisa, and Arroyo Naranjo.

Cotorro, for example, services more than 50 percent of its territory using this system.

It is in the center of the city that the "bottleneck" occurs. We are collecting containers. The use of draft animals is being studied as a possibility in places where collection

points are being established. In fact, this is being implemented in eastern and central Havana.

There are material deficiencies and insufficiencies but also subjective ones having to do with control and exigency on the part of those who must see to it that these things are done well in the communal service units, Marimon noted, adding that many times the resource limitations are used as a justification and a shield for negligence and lack of discipline.

But there is another circumstance which strikes a blow against us in the city: the lack of social discipline and the absence of harsh legal action against these activities. We have inspectors who do not impose fines. The population must be aware that the city is nothing more than an extension of their homes. If the city is dirty, if there is pollution, if the population causes the sanitary conditions to deteriorate with its actions, then the population is harming itself.

Costa Rica

Police Seize Weapons Near Nicaraguan Border

PA1904183591 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1600 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] San Jose, 15 Apr (ACAN-EFE)—Official sources today reported that Costa Rican authorities seized 12 AK-47 rifles and a 57-mm cannon [as received] from several farm owners during an operation in search of "a large arsenal" in the northern area bordering Nicaragua.

Members of the Intelligence and Security Directorate (DIS) have for the past few days investigated reports of major weapons transshipments through Costa Rican towns near Nicaragua. These are weapons that the dismantled anti-Sandinist "contras" did not surrender to the United Nations for destruction.

Although the weapons were seized from area farmers, the authorities fear that many weapons fell into the hands of kidnappers and thieves.

The Public Security Ministry reported that the 12 AK-47 rifles guns are of Soviet, Romanian, and Czechoslovak origin and were found in the homes of several farm owners in Banderas de Pocosol, El Concho, Pavon, and Los Lirios. It was not specified whether there were any arrests.

The 57-mm cannon was seized on 11 April by members of the Judicial Investigation Agency (OIJ).

Some 10 Costa Rican farm owners recently left their properties near Nicaragua when they learned that a group planned to kidnap them for ransom.

Many Nicaraguans cross the border illegally to sell, at "ridiculous" prices, the weapons that they still hold and others exchange them for food or clothing, a police source reported. He added that, for example, an AK-47 can be purchased for only $100.

El Salvador

FMLN Documents Reveal Strategy in Dialogue

PA1904200491 San Salvador EL DIARIO DE HOY in Spanish 18 Apr 91

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Chalatenango—The FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] strategy during the round of talks being held in Mexico City has been revealed in the documents seized by the Army at an FMLN command post in Cerro Las Puertas, Nueva Trinidad.

This camp was managed by the Nicaraguan mercenary Antonio Cardenal, aka "Commander Jesus Rojas" and "Chuzon," due to his stocky figure.

The papers were sent by an Atlacatl Battalion patrol to the military leaders of the region. The document, distributed by the FMLN on 10 March, contained a "Working Schedule" with a subhead "Assessments" and several numbered points. "1. We started 1991 with an accumulation of strategic, revolutionary, and democratic forces. This relationship is expressed by a dual [military and political] power and will allow us to successfully address the problem of the war this year. We are planning to carry out a political and military offensive throughout this year.

The control of territory during the elections has revealed the existence of areas under FMLN authority.

"We will use," the FMLN document continued, "the struggle of the masses, negotiations, the attainment of agreements, and the elections as part of our military strategic efforts.

"Our military objective is the better use our forces and means in order to achieve the goals set.

"We seek to strategically strike the Armed Forces.

"2. We may try to reach agreements on the Armed Forces issue at the negotiations table and, at the same time, institutionalize the FMLN as a political and military force.

(We will never accept our dissolution as a military or political force)

"3. We will take advantage of the dual power position in order to move to a phase of maximum deployment of political struggle, while maintaining and strengthening our military force.

"Our army will be responsible for revealing the repressive nature of the dictatorship.

As long as the Armed Forces are strong, we will never attain agreements at the negotiating table.

"4. The enemy is weak and is as at its weakest point thus far after 10 years of war.

' The debates are focusing on the Armed Forces, which have been criticized by all sectors. The Armed Forces are gradually losing ground. The government is also trying to make up for the lost ground. The PDC [Christian Democratic Party] has been divided into the MAC-PDC [Authentic Christian Movement - Christian Democratic Party] and it does not have the support of the splinter faction.

"In sum: We will try to worsen the political and military crisis."

The document continues by analyzing the situation and addressing, in a special paragraph, the issue of the negotiations. There, the FMLN insists that the Armed Forces should disappear; the public security organizations should be changed; the Atlacatl Battalion should be dissolved; impunity must end; the DIN [expansion

unknown] should be dissolved; and the officers corps should be purged. Other details are mentioned.

Handal: Talks Passing Through 'Decisive' Stage

PA1904191491 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0306 GMT 19 Apr 91

[Report by Antonio Mineros from Mexico City on 18 April—recorded]

[Text] The peace negotiations are reaching their most decisive stage in this coming third week. The work of the two delegations has become more intensive in an effort to overcome obstacles with regard to constitutional reform, the Armed Forces, and a cease-fire. The current stage of the second phase of the talks has been described as critical, and the government and FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] could reach an agreement prior to 23 April.

However, for the time being, the climate is tense. FMLN Commander Shafik Handal described this stage as critical during a recess today.

[Begin recording] [Handal] It is serious because they have said that they are not willing to keep the possibility for constitutional reform open in the second stage of the negotations.

[Unidentified reporter] What would happen then at the negotiating table?

[Handal] That would be a violation of the Caracas agreement

[Reporter] Does it mean then that the negotations are in a crisis?

[Handal] This round of talks is in a crisis. These remarks I am making to let the people know about this situation seek to save the negotiations. We do not think everything is lost. We feel that this possibility must be saved. [end recording]

According to the rebel commander, there are still sectors in the country that oppose the negotiations, thus endangering the progress made until today, especially in light of the death of Jesus Rojas [Antonio Cardenal].

Handal said that it is up to President Cristiani to put an end to the war.

[Begin recording] [Handal] This is a challenge for the Cristiani administration. If Cristiani does not reach the goal as he vowed to do, his government will end. Regardless of whether he remains president, there will be no government. The country will be ruled by the sectors that now impose their will on what can or cannot be done in the country. In fact, the position of these sectors is to do things that should not be allowable. They do not want peace. They have reiterated that they do not want peace. This is a way to prolong the war. It is a way to prolong the conflict. [end recording]

However, despite this situation, the attitude of the two delegations was one of internal consultation.

According to sources close to the negotiations, the next six days will be decisive for reaching specific agreements with regard to the three basic topics discussed here in Mexico City: status of the Armed Forces; a cease-fire; and the most important issue, one that has presented the largest number of obstacles so far, constitutional reform.

Merino Accuses FMLN of Adopting Evasive Stance

PA2204010191 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSU in Spanish 1730 GMT 20 Apr 91

[Report by Fausto Balladares]

[Text] The peace talks between the government and the guerrillas in Mexico City, under UN auspices, are stalemated because of the evasive attitude of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN], according to Vice President Jose Francisco Merino. He has said that the rebels' negotiators have sought to discuss a topic on which the government is intransigent.

[Begin Merino recording] The guerrillas have not found a single topic the government is reluctant to discuss and analyze. The topics discussed at length have been known since before the Caracas agreement. In Caracas, the FMLN further defined these points, and the government has discussed the form and content of each and every one of them, reaching major decisions. Some of these decisions must take the form of constitutional amendments, which we are prepared to support.

In fact, the political parties know about these points, because these points were amply discussed at the interparty forum. To say at this point that time is short for constitutional amendments is something we consider an irresponsible evasion of the peace process that we are developing. [end recording]

The vice president voiced optimism about constitutional amendments that can be sponsored by the outgoing deputies. He said that these amendments are not the topic for attaining peace. Merino felt that the topics of the agenda—human rights, the Armed Forces, and electoral and legal reforms—can be negotiated without resorting to constitutional amendments. The official did say, however, that there will be amendments to guarantee the agreements that emerge from the peace process.

[Begin recording] [Merino] All the political forces are fully informed so as to debate in the Legislative Assembly the proposal to amend the Constitution and ratify these amendments in the next Assembly, which will come into session in 10 to 12 days.

[Reporter] Will Article 248 be amended?

[Merino] Article 248 is not the basic topic for achieving peace.

[Reporter] Everything seems to indicate that that is really the case.

[Merino] That is the pretext the FMLN and its front groups are using. We must member which topics they have insisted on—the Armed Forces, the judicial system, the electoral system, human rights. We must make the appropriate amendments required by these topics. In fact, we believe many of these topics can be worked out through secondary laws. We are, however, willing to let some of the agreements become constitutional issues so that we can have a guarantee and more specific and definite language. [end recording]

The government and FMLN negotiating commissions began a new round of talks on 4 April in Mexico City. Two weeks later, the necessary consensus is missing for reaching agreements that will end 10 years of war. According to Merino, the government supports constitutional amendments. The guerrillas, however, have charged that the government negotiators have not advanced on this topic. Were this difference in attitude to continue, there would be no agreement on the package of constitutional amendments that various social sectors support, and, thus, it will not be debated and approved by the outgoing assembly. These sectors are fearful that the conflict may drag on for 3 more years, worsening the political, economic, and social situation.

FMLN Commanders on 'Stalemate' in Negotiations

PA2204013591 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0000 GMT 20 Apr 91

[Text] Commander Nidia Diaz, member of the Political-Diplomatic Commission of the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] has said in Mexico City that the negotiations are at a stalemate on the issues of a cease-fire and amendments to the Constitution, because of a lack of political willingness on the part of the government commission to negotiate an end to the war.

Meanwhile, Commander Joaquin Villalobos has voiced concern about the course that the negotiations have taken by warning that the dialogue is facing a crisis. Captain Francisco Mena Sandoval has accused the government of jeopardizing the dialogue by changing its position toward the main issues currently under discussion. He described as inflexible the position maintained by the government and groups opposed to the attainment of peace in Mexico and in El Salvador.

Since the negotiations are stalemated, Dr. Alvaro de Soto [UN representative at talks in Mexico City] paid an unexpected visit to our country on 18 April. He held a meeting that lasted several hours with President Cristiani to overcome the stalemate.

UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar will open an office in El Salvador to supervise and protect the human rights of Salvadorans, despite the fact that there is as yet no cease-fire. The plan proposed by Dr. Perez de Cuellar calls for the establishment of several branches and consists of two phases.

The first, which would last three weeks, calls for the presence of UN delegates in areas where human rights violence occurs most frequently. The second would start direct investigations on charges of abuses against Salvadorans and promote improvements with regard to human rights at the peace talks.

According to the UN plan for our country, the activities of this office would conclude once a cease-fire is verified.

FMLN Commander's Coded Document Disclosed

PA1904153991 San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 17 Apr 91 p 27

[Text] Coded documents, supposedly written by Nicaraguan Commander Jesus Rojas, or Antonio Cardenal, detailed activities he had planned to carry out for a 1 May march.

Antonio Cardenal, nephew of journalist Pedro Joaquin Chamorro and Nicaraguan President Violeta de Chamorro, was an FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] commander in northern Chalatenango Department.

Cardenal and 12 or 15 other FMLN fighters were killed in an ambush carried out by members of the Atlacatl Battalion during routine patrolling.

This action was perpetrated on 11 April, a day after Cardenal gave a news conference in which he claimed that Arcatao and other places were under FMLN control.

Military and government spokesmen denied those allegations through radio, television, and the press, saying that the country is under the total control of the Armed Forces, which by constitutional mandate must defend the nation's sovereignty and provide security to its citizens.

One of the paragraphs [from the documents], some of which is illegible, reads: "This is the working plan from 9 to 19 April. On 9 April, we will be in Varco to work with Shadow [Sombra]. On 10 and 11 April, we will be in Muy to work with Shadow. On 13 and 14 April, we will be in Balsam [Balsamo] to work with Shadow and Coyoles [Mexican Palm]. On 15 and 16 April, in Pencil [Lapiz] to work with Shadow and do a...(blood stains).... On 17 and 18 April, we will be in Varco to contact (?agents) [gente de encuentro] and on 19 April to evaluate the work process (blood stains) Vidal 9-04-91" (blood stains) Delmi, Manolo, Muricio, Fernando (Juaguar).

"1) The silk for the huts of the entire force and securing. From SZZZ, we already bought it centralized. 2) Do not request money for that. 3) You must determine how many huts are required in each MPL [expansion unknown]. Also take into account that some people have good huts, review in order to have an exact figure and

avoid unnecessary expenses. I will be waiting for this information. Miguel. (Cable) We must start preparing the conditions for the great 1 May march in S.S. Particularly efforts by the Mples [expansion unknown] should begin immediately with friends. Scaffold, support groups in all expansions. The specific (blood stain) of each organization (blood stains) is mobilizing expansions and accomplishing a record mobilization. I expect goal to mobilize expansion sector. We must make everyone participate, use the cables we have to convoke people. Convoke the ARA [expansion unknown] CPDN [Permanent Committee for the National Debate], and UNT [National Union of Salvadoran Workers]. Miguel. 5-491 11 hours. Fernando. 9-591 at 19 hours we will meet with Five Shadows of Varco. Agenda: 1) General reports; 2) Aspects of the situation; 3) Motivation for the 1 May march; 4) Various. Fernando (Orange) [Naranja]. The scaffold of Legume met yesterday with the scaffold of Serpent. 1) Reports; 2) On the document situation; 3) 1 May march. 2) [number as published] We disucssed with the Youngster [Cipote] of Legume the possibility of returning after finding out about incorporated (blood stains) with May deadlines. Alex 19-4-91 - 11.30.

Deputy Defense Minister on Cardenal Death

PA1904151691 San Salvador Radio Cadena Central in Spanish 1200 GMT 18 Apr 91

[Passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] General Juan Orlando Zepeda, deputy defense minister, has said that the death of rebel commander [Antonio Cardenal aka Jesus Rojas] is part of the war.

Deputy Defense Minister Zepeda said that despite the military actions being waged in various area of the country between the Armed Forces and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN], one cannot lose hope that a cease-fire will be reached shortly. Up to now, negotiations have been progressing and it is hoped that positive results will be obtained, the military chief noted.

[Zepeda] "The good thing is that there is a open channel for discussing the points of interest, which are the causes and the origins of the situation that inspired that struggle which started in 1979. When there is communication I think there is a softening of positions and this has to be reflected all the way down the line, precisely where these confrontations are being waged. This is why I believe that the levels of violence will be reduced, regardless of whether the cease-fire is reached or not. Meanwhile, the FMLN's logistics are running out. They have run out of the suppliers they had during the last decade, such as Cuba, Nicaragua, and the other Marxist nations that were strong supporters of revolutionary movements. To top it all, there has been an ideological failure. When ideology—given that this is a very illusive inspiration—is faced with outright failure, I believe that enthusiasm and motivation are reduced."

The deputy defense minister said that rebel commander Jesus Rojas' death was a consequence of the war, therefore the rebels' reaction is understandable given the weight he carried within the rebel forces.

[Zepeda] "It must be clearly understood that Commander Rojas' death—who by the way was a foreigner who came to murder Salvadorans—is the consequence of a war that they themselves started. We did not start any conflict in El Salvador. And it is logical, if there is shooting, clashes, ambushes, raids, there must be deaths. If today it was the turn of a well-known person, a foreigner, who comes from a well-off family in Nicaragua, they have to regret this. These are very normal reactions because they lost a key player. According to our information, Mr. Rojas was a very important member in the logistics and training apparatus that the FMLN has traditionally maintained in Nicaragua."

Gen. Zepeda also regretted the incident that took place on 16 April between local and foreign reporters and Armed Forces members, near the Colima Bridge, Aguilares District, when the soldiers blocked the way of the reporters who were on their way to Chalatenango.

[Zepeda] "It must be understood that a soldier is put there to do his duty, this is a very humble person, a mere soldier. If someone comes up and offends him, attacks him, or tries to prevent him from doing his duty, here is where he places his dual role—as a man and as a soldier—on the line. These situations also have to be understood. I would regret it if there was some shooting. And, if there were shots, this will have to be looked into because this is not correct. We have had and want to continue to have very good relations with the press."

Government Comments on Incident With Journalists

PA1904182991 San Salvador EL MUNDO in Spanish 17 Apr 91

[Communique released by the Salvadoran Government in San Salvador on 16 April]

[Text] The Salvadoran Government hereby regrets this morning's incident when soldiers at a military checkpoint, following standing orders, stopped a group of foreign journalists trying to enter areas of conflict.

The government regrets that the journalists tried to rush the soldiers. The proper step would have been to request permission to enter those areas, with respect for established procedures.

The government has been making all kinds of arrangements so that journalists can conduct their business. Nevertheless, regulations have been established, which foreign correspondents are expected to follow.

Reporters have been banned from the areas mentioned as we could not afford to let the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front capitalize on and distort the private ceremony in which the body of terrorist Jesus

Rojas [Antonio Cardenal], killed in a clash with the Armed Forces, was to be handed over to his relatives.

The government hereby reiterates to local and foreign journalists its willingness to maintain mutual cooperation based on obedience to established procedures so the national reality can be objectively and truthfully reported.

San Salvador, 16 April 1991.

The Government of El Salvador

Guatemala

Mexico To Host Government-Guerrilla Talks

PA1904183691 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2020 GMT 18 Apr 91

[Text] Guatemala City, 18 Apr (NOTIMEX)—Mexico will host the peace talks between the Guatemalan Government and guerrillas on 24-25 April, it was confirmed today by the Mexican Embassy in Guatemala City.

Furthermore, Sergio Gonzalez Galvez, deputy foreign minister of Mexico, today reported that Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari offered Guatemalan President Jorge Serrano his support in the peace talks. Salinas de Gortari offered his country to the Guatemalan president for the talks between the government and the Guatemalan National Guerrilla Revolutionary Unity (URNG) to seek a political solution to the armed conflict.

Gonzalez Galvez met today with Serrano, Guatemalan Foreign Minister Alvaro Arzu, and Alvaro's deputy, Manuel Villacorta.

Manuel Moran, Mexican Embassy spokesman in this capital, said that his country has granted its approval for the meeting to be held in its territory, at the request of the National Reconciliation Commission (CNR) and the URNG. Moran said that Mexico gladly offers the necessary facilities so that its territory is used for the peace talks to consolidate the process and end the armed conflict.

The diplomat said that both Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari and Foreign Secretary Fernando Solana have offered their support to the talks and hope that the meeting will achieve the desired goals.

Serrano presented a proposal for "total peace" to the Guatemalan people and the international community on 8 April.

On 15 April, the CNR met with the URNG in Mexico City and presented Serrano's proposal for total peace, and received, in turn, the guerrilla groups' proposal. Following the meeting, the conciliator, Monsignor Rodolfo Quezada Toruno, managed to reach a consensus between the two parties to hold the first meeting between government representatives and URNG commanders on 24-25 April in Mexico City.

Honduras

PNH Lambasts Bomb Attack on Headquarters

PA2004014991 San Pedro Sula TIEMPO in Spanish 19 Apr 91 p 9

[Communique issued by the National Party of Honduras (PNH) Central Committee, in Tegucigalpa on 18 April]

[Text] The Central Committee of the PNH states to the national and international community its strongest protest against the 18 April attack on the PNH headquarters in San Pedro Sula, Cortes Department.

Violence is the weapon used by frustrated people, misfits, and men who have not learned to work; their reaction endangers the lives of the citizenry, because death is their trade.

The PNH deplores these type of terrorist actions, which are the result of those who have not learned to be men and to live among free men. They do not heed other people's sorrow and suffering, and they justify their hate by destroying lives and negating rights.

The explosive device thrown at the PNH headquarters in San Pedro Sula reflects the fatal views of those whose goal is not the destruction of the PNH but the destruction of a democratic system to install a shameful, brutal, and destructive party dictatorship. These outcasts of mankind are annoyed by liberty and hurt by words, they hate dialogue, they do not believe in free men, and they carry out their crimes in the dark of the night—generally assassinating innocent people.

The PNH today starts the work to repair the damage caused by the explosive device left at the party's headquarters in San Pedro Sula; it also prepares for a new electoral victory.

The PNH will always react according to the law because all its actions are carried out in strict abidance by the highest concept of justice and because it is fully convinced that the people are not responsible for the criminal and barbaric attitude of those who use masks to carry out their acts of social cowardice.

Cinhoneros Issue Communique

PA2004022291 San Pedro Sula TIEMPO in Spanish 19 Apr 91 p 9

["Communique" from the "Cinchonero" People's Liberation Movement issued in "Honduras, Central America," dated 18 April]

[Text] The "Cinchonero" People's Liberation Movement reports to the Honduran people and the international community:

The "Long Live the El Zamorano Heroes" political-military operation was carried out today by the "Lempira" commandos. This is our movement's reply to the

Callejas government, which is starving the people to death. With this operation we honor our brothers who died at El Zamorano on 15 August 1990. They were not bandits or criminals, as it has been repeatedly said by the puppet government and Army. They died as "Cinchoneros," fighting and fulfilling the historical legacy of Lempira, Serapio Romero, and Francisco Morazan. They will always be our example in the struggle against injustice and our people's hunger.

The conditions that compelled us to begin the struggle still prevail. We remind the puppet government and the Army that we will not abandon the armed struggle as long as the conditions prevail. We would rather die fighting like our Indian forefathers than submit to the gringos' control of the world.

Likewise, with this political-military operation we condemn the servile attitude of the Callejas government, which talks spanish but thinks in english; which has been historically marked as one of the most cruel and subservient governments; and which is starving the people to death by implementing economic measures that only benefit foreign monopolies and the rich people in our country.

We condemn the intimidation and destabilization of labor groups that is being carried out by the government with the intention of eliminating all the people's opposition and protests against those measures.

The "Cinchonero" People's Liberation Movement will remain alert to all the abuses and violations that are perpetrated against our people. Tormenting governments are never forgotten, just as the biggest tormentor of our history, Gustavo Alvarez Martinez, has not been forgotten.

We urge our people to reject this subservient government and to support our organization, wherever it may be. We are not assassins or terrorists; we are revolutionaries who want bread and justice for the poor. We issue an appeal to the Honduran youth and people in general, urging them to join the struggle for a Honduras free of gringos and rich oppressors.

We do not want the imperialist gringos' presence in our country!

All the people must unite against the Callejista government!

General Discua Elvir, where are the missing people?

Long live the heroes and martyrs of the Honduran revolution!

Freedom for political prisoners!

"The armed people will win."

National Command, "Cinchonero" People's Liberation Movement

Honduras, Central America, 18 April 1991.

Nicaragua

Police Evict Workers From Olof Palme Center

PA1904144291 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 19 Apr 91

[Text] Acting on the orders of the presidency, about 150 policemen at 1600 yesterday evicted some 50 Olof Palme Convention Center workers who, for the past several weeks, had been camping in tents on Bolivar Avenue and demanding salary increases to compensate for the introduction of economic adjustments measures.

After assaulting the workers with truncheons, the Police arrested some 15 individuals, including union leaders Yamil Cubillo, Esmeralda Ruiz, Leonor Herrera, and others. Four policemen, including Captain Malespin, who headed the operation, hit Cubillo several dozen times while he was on the ground. Cubillo fought back hitting several policemen, but was subdued by about five policemen and placed in a military vehicle.

The police also removed the protesting workers' tents. In commenting on the police action, the Government Ministry merely stated that it obeys superior orders.

FSLN Condemns 'Attack'

PA2004134591 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1220 GMT 20 Apr 91

[Text] The Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] has issued a communique on the police attack on the Olof Palme Convention Center employees. The FSLN National Directorate warned the government that ordering the police crackdown has set a dangerous precedent that can only serve to fuel violence and social clashes.

The FSLN communique said that the use of violence against striking workers negates the legitimate means of a civil struggle achieved by the people through the revolution.

The FSLN leadership also condemned the destruction of Omar Torrijos' bust at the Nonaligned Square by Managua city workers. Such government actions seem consistent with the vengeful and servile tone of Mrs. Violeta Chamorro's speech before the U.S. Congress; the government must be accountable for its actions, the FSLN communique stated.

Former EPS Officer Said Murdered by Ex-Contras

PA2104224591

[Editorial report] Managua BARRICADA in Spanish on 16 April carries a 500-word report by Francisco Rodriguez on pages 1 and 2 on the murder of former EPS (Sandinist People's Army) Lieutenant Fausto Rodrigo Pineda Rugama. According to the newspaper, Pineda was kidnapped by a group of former contras led by Luis Cano Chavarria, alias Chapulin, on 12 April in Aguas

Amarillas. Later that day, the newspaper states, a military and police patrol arrived in the area and the former contras opened fire on them. A clash ensued during which former contra leader Chapulin was killed. Sonia Cano, a relative of Chapulin, is alleging that he was murdered, the newspaper says however, quoting Jinotega Police Chief Mario Noguera, that the National Association for Human rights (Asociacion Nacional Pro Derechos Humanos—ANPDH), the right-wing human rights association of which Sonia Cano is a member, is fostering civil disobedience among former contras, some of whom have formed a group they call the "recalcitrant contras" (recontras). Pineda's body, which was found on 14 April in Aguas Rojas, showed signs of having been knifed, shot, and tortured. The BARRICADA report also states that former contra Anastasio Sevilla has confessed to having murdered Pineda to avenge Chapulin's death.

Meanwhile, Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish on 15 April carries on pages 1 and 12, a 400-word report on the same incident. The report written by Roger Suarez, states that the Nicaraguan Civic Resistance Association (Asociacion Civica de la Resistencia Nicaraguense—ACRN) has announced that Luis Cano Chavarria, alias Chapulin, was murdered by members of the Sandinist Police and Army on 12 April in Aguas Amarillas. LA PRENSA states that according to Rodolfo Ampie, alias Commander Invisible, a member of the ACRN, Chapulin had become a farmer after his demobilization. On 12 April, he ran into a 28-man military and police patrol; the soldiers attempted to confiscate his Browning pistol, Chapulin objected, and one of the soldiers standing behind him shot him to death. Defending himself, Chapulin wounded one of the soldiers. This angered the others, who responded by kicking his body and gouging his eyes out with their bayonets. According to the newspaper, the police report contradicts this explanation. It states that Chapulin was a member of a group of demobilized contras who kidnapped a former military officer and that the military patrol opened fire to repel the kidnappers.

Panama

Ministry Issues Communique on Information Sharing

PA1904173591 Panama City EL SIGLO in Spanish 19 Apr 91 p 51

[Communique issued by the Ministry of Foreign Relations in Panama City on 18 April]

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Relations wishes to clarify certain facts—which have been reappearing with certain frequency—pertaining to a request for information about local bank accounts submitted to Panamanian authorities by U.S. Senator William Roth.

Despite a well-founded response to the aforementioned Senator by our ambassador to Washington, his excellency Eduardo Vallarino, attempts are still being made to foster the impression that our refusal to provide the information is motivated by efforts to block an investigation into laundering of drug money. Such view does not reflect reality because—as we have stated on many previous occasions—no U.S. authority, or that of any other country, has the right to request any information outside of Panama's legal channels.

Moreover, no such request can be honored in the absence of evidence showing that a trial, by the proper U.S. authorities, is being duly conducted. In this case, a mere reference had been made to an investigation by a U.S. Senate subcommittee which is not a judicial institution in that country.

Therefore, we reaffirm our intention to fully cooperate with all local and international measures aiming to repress and diminish illegal activities, so long as requests for cooperation and information-sharing conform with the judicial procedures established by our current laws.

Panama City, 18 April 1991.

Businessman, Alleged Criminal Extradited to Spain

PA1904003991 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2255 GMT 18 Apr 91

[Text] Panama City, 18 Apr (ACAN - EFE)—Spanish businessman David Diaz Fernandez, who has been accused of murder and swindle, was extradited to his country today, the Spanish Embassy reported.

Diaz was arrested in Panama in February for the first time, escaped in March from the police station where he was being held, and was recaptured by the Panamanian police last night, the embassy added in a communique.

Spanish private detective Jose Pimentel participated in the recapture; he has been after Diaz on instructions by the relatives of Jose Luis Gonzalez, who was murdered allegedly by the now extradited businessman in Majadahonda, near Madrid, two years ago.

Diaz, who is also being sought by U.S. authorities on charges of siwndle, left Panama for Madrid this afternoon aboard a commercial flight of Iberia airline; he is being guarded by one Panamanian and two Spanish policemen.

Argentina

'No Interest' in 'Confrontation' With U.S.

PY1904144291 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1138 GMT 19 Apr 91

[Text] Buenos Aires, 19 Apr (NA) — Foreign Minister Guido Di Tella has admitted that the Argentine Government "has no interest in having a confrontation on any issue" with the United States, and he indicated that Argentina "is on the way" to ratifying the Tlatelolco Treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

Di Tella implicitly ratified Argentina's desire to abandon the development of the Condor-2 missile project, when he stressed: "Our capability in the production of strategic weapons provides us more with a lack of security rather than security." The foreign minister made these remarks when he addressed the Argentine Council for International Relations last night.

During his address, Di Tella also stated that the opening of the Argentine economy "is an indispensable prerequisite to reinstate us in the world." In this respect, he indicated that the strategy to reinstate the country into the world's economy is based on the [word indistinct] of "economic stabilization, privatization, and deregulation."

He also summarized the basic outline of Argentina's foreign policy, when he stressed: "We want to belong to the group of countries that make up the Western alliance, leaving our membership with the Third World behind us, because in any case that could have been an accident, but it was never a virtue."

"No one can be such a masochist as to want to belong to the Third World at a time when East-West confrontations have been forgotten."

In another passage of his address, Di Tella defined as "pragmatic" the policy that his ministry is implementing, and he admitted that Argentina "does not have an international role, and it is therefore necessary to outline a coherent position between what one aspires to and what one can effectively do."

Government 'Suspects' Condor-2 Used in Gulf War

PY1904024891 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0020 GMT 19 Apr 91

[Excerpts] Buenos Aires, 18 Apr (EFE)—Argentine Vice President Eduardo Duhalde pointed out today that his government "suspects" that the locally developed Condor-2 missile "was used" in the Persian Gulf war.

Duhalde reported to the press that Argentine-U.S. relations and the "definitive" position to be adopted by Argentina on the missile project were analyzed during a meeting between the cabinet of ministers and President Carlos Menem. Duhalde added that the cabinet also discussed "the government's willingness to end discussions on this issue, which has been creating problems for a long time."

He said that "the previous administration decided to destroy" the missile and that, "although the original intent was to use the Condor-2 for peaceful objectives, it was used—or, at least, it is believed that it was used"—during the Persian Gulf War. [passage omitted]

Military sources have told EFE that high-ranking Air Force officers have expressed their "concern" to Menem over the investment of about $200 million in research and design of the missile, mostly because its cost will be added to other Air Force losses when the project is suspended. Air Force Commander in Chief Brigadier Jose Julio held a meeting with the highest-ranking Air Force officers on 16 April. Foreign Minister Guido Di Tella and Economy Minister Domingo Cavallo were also invited to the meeting.

A military spokesman said Cavallo urged the military to "put a definitive end" to the manufacture of Condor-2 missiles because "international pressure is still being exerted on the Argentine Government on basis of the belief that the Condor-2 is still being manufactured in Argentina." The Condor-2 is approximately six meters long and can carry a 150 kilo "payload" some 300 kilometers.

Senate Approves Ministries Law Requested by Menem

PY1904022491 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 2343 GMT 18 Apr 91

[Text] Buenos Aires, 18 Apr (TELAM)—The Senate tonight approved the Law of Ministries, which creates the Justice Ministry and places the public work and services area under the Economy Ministry.

The Senate converted the draft proposal into law at 2030 this evening; five minutes later, Interior Minister Julio Mera Figueroa began to brief the senators on the federal government's intervention in Catamarca Province.

Provincial Governor Reacts to Intervention Plan

PY1904230091 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 19 Apr 91 pp 1, 11

[Text] (NA-DYN)—President Menem's controversial decision yesterday to place the province of Catamarca under federal control has met with a flurry of political activity in Buenos Aires and in the northwestern state suggesting that transition from local to federal rule will be far from smooth.

Menem yesterday assumed "total responsibility" for the takeover but added that it was a "difficult, very difficult" decision to take.

Ousted Governor Ramon Saadi in turn described Menem as a "traitor" in a speech to supporters in

Catamarca. He earlier suggested everyone in government—from the president down—should be tested for drug use.

Meanwhile the Lower House of Congress failed to reach a decision as to the nature of the penalty to be applied to Deputy Angel Luque, author of controversial statements to the press and father of Guillermo Luque, whose alleged involvement in a Catamarca girl's murder in September last year sparked the whole chain of events.

In Buenos Aires, demonstrators held a rally in Plaza de Mayo—the first "March of Silence" to be staged in Buenos Aires—while Saadi supporters clashed with reporters in Catamarca.

Menem said the situation in Catamarca warranted such an exceptional remedy as it "could not be sustained any longer (and) it had become virtually irreversible." "Now," he added, (ousted) governor Saadi "will be able to work on his campaign without problems and Catamarca's coming election process won't be suspected of being rigged." Menem further stressed that the federal trustee already in charge of Catamarca's judiciary "was conclusive: there is no justice in Catamarca, the provincial police does not function."

Saadi made angry statements about the takeover's "riding roughshod over" Catamarca's provincial rights and "lacking justification," and he asked President Menem to use the national broadcasting network to apologize to the people of Catamarca.

Saadi also suggested that all government officials ought to undergo a rhinoscopy (nose test) to find out who was using drugs. As for the takeover, Saadi blamed Menem's entourage—particularly the so-called celestes ("light-blue" faction) and their leader the present Presidential Chief-of-Staff Eduardo Bauza, whom he described as "shameless, good-for-nothing and inept"—for promoting federal action against his province and he went on to enthusiastically praise former President Raul Alfonsin as "a great democrat who during his term in office was especially careful in his relations with the provinces."

As the ousted governor returned to Catamarca yesterday evening, his supporters staged demonstrations in several towns and punched journalists in front of the provincial government house. Oscar Alfredo Figueroa, a journalist from the local Radio Ancasti, was knocked down and his glasses broken as other colleagues from Noticias Argentinas, the daily Clarin and TV Channel 11 were also mobbed.

Former governor Saadi's supporters chanted slogans saying they would again win the elections "and then journalists will have to tell our story."

Meanwhile, appointed federal trustee for Catamarca Luis Prol was preparing to take office in the provincial capital today. The former Fuel Undersecretary remarked that he "had no evidence to the effect that Saadi is calling the people of the province to resist federal action," and added: "I'm going to assess (Catamarca's) provincial situation over the weekend so that everything returns to normal as soon as possible." Menem yesterday described Prol as a "lad with personality, young and very competent" but the Radical Party yesterday objected to the decision to impose the intervention by decree, saying that Congress should have been consulted first.

Catamarca Takeover Brings 'Tense Calm'

PY2104232491 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES HERALD in English 20 Apr 91 p 1

[Excerpt] (DYN-NA)—Catamarca Trustee Luis Prol yesterday promised "all our support" for Judge Jose Luis Ventimiglia in his investigation into the death of teenager Maria Soledad Morales in this province.

Prol arrived here yesterday afternoon after a flurry of activity in Buenos Aires, including a meeting with Presidential Secretary Eduardo Bauza and a joint TV Channel 11 interview with Maria Soledad's parents, Elias Morales and Ana Rizzardo. Prol, who abandoned his post as fuels undersecretary at the Economy Ministry to take charge of this troubled province, promised to "take Catamarca off the crime pages, because we will proceed with clarity, helping the courts to solve everything that has to be solved."

The federal takeover of Catamarca was ordered by a presidential decree on Wednesday [17 April], which Prol maintained will be sent to Congress for ratification soon.

This provincial capital awoke to a tense calm yesterday morning, following widespread violence and unrest on Wednesday and Thursday nights in support of former Governor Ramon Saadi, ousted from power by President Carlos Menem's move.

The arrival of 410 riot control Border Guards in the early hours of yesterday morning set the scene for Prol's arrival later in the day. Some 3,000 of ex-governor Saadi's supporters took to the streets to the yell of "Traitor!" in angry demonstrations against Menem earlier in the week, in an open reference to the large financial and political support Menem received from Saadi in his successful bid for the presidency in 1989.

Prol took over as Catamarca trustee in a brief ceremony at the provincial Government House while some 300 Saadi opponents jeered the event from the street. [passage omitted]

Bolivia

FELCN Faces 'Drastic Purge,' 'Reorganization'

PY1804161091 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1831 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Text] La Paz, 17 Apr (EFE)—Bolivian authorities today began a drastic purge of the antinarcotics police after it was officially acknowledged that the force has been

infiltrated by drug producers and dealers. The investigation into the careers of the 1,000 members of the Special Antinarcotics Force (FELCN), with the possible goal of changing it, is the most intensive since the unit was created nearly four years ago.

It has been officially reported that officials from the Interior Ministry, the Social Defense Undersecretariat (which is in charge of coordinating the fight against drugs), the FELCN, and the National Police will make up the commission responsible for the purge. Interior Minister Carlos Saavedra stressed: "It will not be an inquisition; it will be a commission that will evaluate the mission in order to improve the structure of the antidrug force."

The decision was announced after the discovery of the hanged body of Lieutenant Colonel Alberto Ravasa, commander of the FELCN in the southern department of Oruro, who had been accused of protecting the movement of chemicals used in the production of cocaine. Ravasa was found dead on 12 April, one day after it was learned that he had ordered a truck carrying 12,500 liters of sulphuric acid escorted to the central Chapare zone, where there are numerous clandestine laboratories for refining drugs. The cargo, which was valued at $150,000, could have been sold for $500,000 in the Chapare region.

A Social Defense Undersecretariat communique indicates that the "extensive administrative reorganization plan" for the antinarcotics force is aimed at "purging the ranks of the FELCN and making it more effective in the fight against drugs." The communique indicates that the agents appointed during the previous government will be relieved because their mandate concluded in August 1989. This includes some people who have been at their posts "for a long time."

The La Paz morning newspaper LA RAZON reported today that the decision to create a commission to purge the police unit was made on 16 April, after a meeting of four ministers which was presided over retired General Hugo Banzer, former de facto president and the main political ally of Bolivian President Jaime Paz Zamora.

According to the newspaper, it was agreed that the "high-level commission" will select 1,200 police officers to accomplish "a complete reorganization" of the FELCN. According to the interior minister, the government plans to see that the agents selected for the FELCN "are individuals whose careers and life stories are known." General Elias Gutierrez, the FELCN's top commander, admitted last week that drug trafficking "has penetrated all sectors," and is "prostituting" his agents.

Bolivia is the world's second-largest producer of coca leaf, the raw material from which cocaine is produced, after Peru. The U.S. DEA also believes the country is the world's second-largest producer of cocaine, after Colombia.

According to a report released today by the Agriculture, Campesino Affairs, and Livestock Affairs Ministry, the cultivation of coca and the production of cocaine in its various stages generates some $939 million per year in Bolivia, which is equivalent to 20 percent of the GDP.

Peasant Groups Plan National Blockade for 13 May

PY2004004091 La Paz Radio Fides Network in Spanish 1100 GMT 18 Apr 91

[Text] Peasant leader Siguero Rivas has said that the government has until 13 May to abrogate Annex 3 on the militarization of coca plantations or face a blockade of national roads which was approved yesterday by the National Congress of Agricultural Workers.

[Begin Rivas recording] As has already been planned, we are ready to block roads on 13 May. We have evaluated all the reports from the different departmental and regional federations of peasant workers at the national level and from the Trade Union Confederation of Bolivian Settlers. We peasants and the settlers in Chapare and La Paz Department are coca growers, and this is why a decision was made to blockade roads and railroads at the national level as of 0000 on 13 May. [end recording]

Information Minister Mario Rueda Pena has said that the government of national unity, in compliance with the Constitution, will safeguard the interests of the nation and the people by stopping sectorial political interests which aim to distort government decisions through meetings and demonstrations against the legal actions being carried out by the government. Rueda Pena added that the National Police and the Army will carry out actions to prevent disturbances or irregularities in national activity.

[Begin Rueda recording] [words indistinct] because no one can force us to sit down with our arms crossed before drug traffickers and criminals who corrupt our youth, and before a few people—who we can count on one hand—who are discrediting the country. Peasants cannot request this cancellation. It would be immoral. Blocking roads is a crime because it goes against the rights of other people. The rights some people believe they have actually end where freedom and personal rights for others begin. Therefore, anyone who blocks roads will be subject to legal sanctions. [end recording]

We would also like to report that the mobilizations called by the Bolivian Labor Federation in all departments of the country—which are being organized by departmental federations to reject the militarization of coca growing and defend national sovereignty—will begin today.

Coca Growers Force Delay of Paz Zamora Visit

PY2004215691 La Paz Radio Fides Network in Spanish 1100 GMT 20 Apr 91

[Text] President Jaime Paz Zamora has postponed his visit to the Asunta settlement, [word indistinct] La Paz

Department, until 4 May. In Asunta he plans to meet directly with local coca growers and members of his party to discuss the contents of Annex 3 on the militarization of the antidrug fight and alternative development policies to replace the coca plantations.

Reports from the Asunta settlement indicate that local coca growers, to protest the militarization of the coca plantations, have blocked the roads leading to the area to prevent the arrival of the president of the Republic. President Paz Zamora has therefore postponed his visit to the settlement until 4 May.

Chile

President Aylwin Critizes European Protectionism

PY1804182991 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 18 Apr 91

[Excerpt] During his European tour, President Patricio Aylwin today expressed his hopes that the promise by the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front's [FPMR] to lay down their arms will be fulfilled. Aylwin reiterated his rejection and repudiation of all violent groups. Speaking at the European parliament, he criticized the protectionist policies of developed countries and called for unity between Europe and Latin America. This is the report from our special correspondents:

President Patricio Aylwin was welcomed at the European parliament with applause. The media said that this was a rare occasion because the parliament has seldom received foreign dignitaries with the enthusiasm and applause that marked Aylwin's arrival, and also the end of his speech.

Spanish Socialist leader Enrique Baron Crespo, who is the parliament president, chaired the welcome ceremony. The auditorium was two-thirds full and the public corridors were full. Aylwin spoke for 30 minutes on Chile's domestic situation and on international relations. The president said that Chile is experiencing a climate of full freedoms and social peace that is regrettably interrupted by the violent action of some extremist groups. Aylwin expressed his government's will to fight the scourge. This remark was received with applause.

Aylwin also explained his country's position on human rights and economic development. The president said that Chile will maintain its open economic structure.

[Begin Aylwin recording] Allow me to share with you some thoughts on the process of democratic recovery in Chile. We are fully aware of the requirements, difficulties, and dangers. We believe, without false modesty, that we are fulfilling our commitments. [end recording]

Aylwin criticized the protectionist policies of the most developed countries in the name of Chile and Latin America.

[Begin Aylwin recording] We would be negligent if we did not point out some potential dangers in this renewed international scenario. Perhaps the greatest danger is protectionism and the trend of forming closed trade blocks. We cannot allow a trade war to replace the cold war. Free-trade rhetoric must be translated into action. [applause] [end recording]

Earlier today Aylwin met with the European delegation that handles relations with South American countries, which is presided over by the Spanish politician Manuel Medina Ortega, a very knowledgeable person on Chile's democratic process.

French, British, German, and Spanish parliamentarians asked Aylwin questions which all referred to the country's political stability and centered on General Augusto Pinochet's presence as Army commander in chief and the problem of violence. [passage omitted]

Poll Shows 64.1-Percent Approval for Aylwin

PY1904215991 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 19 Apr 91

[by Teresa Barriga]

[Excerpt] A total of 64.1 percent of Chileans support the performance of President Patricio Aylwin while 14.5 percent disapprove. This is the result of a poll conducted by the Public Studies Center between 14 March and 15 April 1991 in various cities in our country.

The poll reflects the opinion of more than 1,500 people. It indicates that 60 percent of the people polled consider that Chile is progressing while 33 percent consider Chile to be stagnant.

In the assessment of the government's performance by sectors, those polled stressed the management of the economy, human rights, and education. [passage omitted]

Public Security Coordinating Office Established

PY1904120891 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 19 Apr 91

[Text] The government has established the Public Security Coordinating Office [Oficina Coordinadora de Seguridad Publica], which will be in charge of supporting Carabineros and the Investigative Police in antiterrorist activities.

This office will be headed by Aviation Under Secretary Mario Fernandez. Other members of this office are Interior Ministry cabinet chief Jorge Burgos, and Socialist Party leader (Marcelo Schilling).

The announcement was made this afternoon at a ceremony headed by Vice President Enrique Krauss. Also present at the ceremony were cabinet members, under

secretaries, as well as Carabineros Director General Rodolfo Stange and Investigative Police Director Horacio Toro.

Interior Ministry Under Secretary Belisario Velasco read the supreme decree establishing this new security organization. The decree stipulates that this security office will be under the jurisdiction of the president's office. It will be an advisory body that will assist in activities involving terrorism and violence. It will carry out investigative, information, and intelligence activities pertaining to antiterrorist strategies. It will also propose public security measures, and it will be supported by the Armed Forces intelligence services and other government organizations.

Acting Interior Minister Enrique Correa praised the establishment of this body, and he added that the government intends to make this into a preeminent government organization.

[Begin Correa recording] This organization has not been established to combat terror with terror or violence with violence. The cherished values of peace and security, which must be safeguarded by all, need an organization capable of defending them. The most important and also the most effective way to do this is to take precautionary measures. To do this effect, we must have an effective system to gather and process information and a suitable deliberative body to take effective measures that will eradicate violence and terrorism. [end recording]

Correa stressed that the democratic system will not be undermined by the actions of terrorist groups. He said that democratic institutions and Chilean society enjoy good health and that violence and terrorism therefore have no place in Chile.

Communist, MIR Evaluate Antiterrorism Plans

PY1904021291 Santiago Radio Cooperativa Network in Spanish 2300 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Excerpt] The Communist Renewal Assembly [Asamblea de Renovacion Comunista], Arco, has described as legitimate the government's decision to press charges against the Lautaro Movement and the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front because these groups have confessed that they are carrying out paramilitary activities.

Luis Guastavino, member of the board of Arco, which groups Communist Party [PCCh] dissidents, discussed this issue at the end of a visit he paid to Vice President Enrique Krauss at Government House.

[Begin Guastavino recording] All this is very clear. We believe that it is absolutely legitimate to act against either ultraleftist or ultrarightist military or civilian paramilitary groups that have confessed that they are carrying out paramilitary actions.

I believe it is absolutely clear that today the ultraleftists and ultrarightist military and paramilitary groups that have carried out actions throughout the years have no other alternative than to answer to the laws of a democratic system that must defend itself with democratic means and tools. [end recording]

The Arco leader also supported the establishment of an antiterrorism organization subordinate to the Interior Ministry. Guastavino insisted that this internal security organization should not be subordinate to the Armed Forces.

Luis Guastavino said he visited Government House only to express his support for the government actions against terrorism and militarism.

Patricio Rivas, leader of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left, MIR, political board, has stated that terrorism must be defeated through political means and the solution of basic issues, such as poverty and the political exclusion of some ideological groups.

The MIR leader commented on MIR policy, stating that an intelligence organization could help in the struggle against political violence but this organization will not resolve all problems. He said: The MIR will always reject police solutions to social and political conflicts. He added that everyone must be aware of the fact that one of the main causes of today's violence is the prolonged existence of a military regime that practiced state terrorism and legitimized the use of violence against citizens. [passage omitted]

Correa Comments on Terrorism, Intelligence Agency

PY1804202791 Santiago Radio Nacional de Chile Network in Spanish 1100 GMT 18 Apr 91

[Text] Acting Interior Minister Enrique Correa has said that the country is a long way from a generalized confrontation as a result of actions by terrorist groups. He said this last night during a televised interview in which he focused on our country's situation following recent terrorist actions and commented on the way in which the government will confront these actions.

Correa said that he disagrees with those who believe that political violence has increased this year under democracy. He said that, on the contrary, conditions have been created to make this phenomenon disappear.

Minister Correa said that he does not agree with the diagnosis of the national defense chief of staff that our country is passing through a stage that precedes a subversive war.

[Begin Correa recording] We are experiencing a moment when the terrorist groups in our country are trying to recoup through violent attacks. Fortunately, their operational capability is still reduced and, I repeat, we are far from any situation even resembling a generalized confrontation. [end recording]

The acting interior minister noted that the government is convinced that ultraleft groups are operating, namely the

Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front and the Lautaro Group, because police records confirm this.

Correa explained that the only way to confront terrorism under democracy is by isolating it, by promoting a consensus among the citizens, and by reinforcing police operations.

With respect to the antiterrorist pact, Correa pointed out that an agreement between the executive branch and Congress is essential and that the political parties and the social organizations will join it.

Asked about the possibility of negotiating with the terrorist groups, Correa said:

[Begin Correa recording] We will not negotiate with anyone who violates the law. Those who violate the law must learn to strictly abide by the law. It is our duty to respect the law and to see to it that the law is respected. It is not our duty to negotiate with groups that violate it. [end recording]

Concerning the intelligence agency that the government is about to create, Correa explained that it will be called the Decentralized Division [Division Decentralizada] or Decentralized Agency [Agencia Decentralizada] and that it will be subordinate to the Interior Ministry. He said that it will be headed by a civilian director general, supported by an executive secretary who will head a permanent team of intelligence officials both from the Carabineros and from the Investigative Police.

A consultative committee comprising the intelligence directors of the military institutions, the Carabineros, and the Investigative Police, will operate at the director general's level. [recorded passage indistinct]

In conclusion, Minister Correa said that the participation of the Armed Forces will be limited to informative cooperation at a consultative level in this agency. He indicated that the agency would be operated by the police.

Air Force Group To Join UN Forces in Gulf

PY1804143391 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 18 Apr 91

[Text] A group of 50 Chilean Air Force [FACh] personnel in six helicopters will depart for the Persian Gulf following a UN invitation to join a peacekeeping force in the region.

The announcement was made today by Defense Minister Patricio Rojas and FACh Commander General Fernando Matthei. The Chilean troops will be stationed at the Kuwait-Iraq border and will remain there from six months to a year. They will join 32 other nations that make up the peacekeeping force that will patrol the demilitarized zone. They will not carry weapons.

Chile and Switzerland are the only states that will bring their own air units. This afternoon Defense Minister Patricio Rojas said that only four Latin American countries will participate in the program. They are Argentina, Uruguay, Venezuela, and Chile.

[Begin Rojas recording] The Chilean Government believes that our participation forms part of Chile's continuous support for the United Nations in the Persian Gulf conflict. This group will initially comprise FACh personnel following a specific request. We do not rule out, however, the participation of the other armed forces branches in the future. The operation is being fully financed by the United Nations. [end recording]

General Matthei said that the Chilean group will be commanded by Colonel Antonio Monserrat, current chief of staff of the 2d Airborne Brigade. Matthei said that Monserrat is the most experienced pilot in the institution.

[Begin Matthei recording] Six Bell helicopters will be used. These helicopters have been used by the FACh for a long time. The group comprises one commander, 12 pilots, 12 crew members, 20 men specialized in different aspects of maintenance, and two supply personnel, that is, a total of 50 men [as heard]. They are professionals. They will do a good job. [end recording]

Soviet Economists Meet With General Pinochet

PY1904213391 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 19 Apr 91

[Text] Vitaly Naishul, the head of a delegation of Soviet economists visiting our country, today said that the 1973 military uprising in Chile was an appropriate response to a very serious and difficult affliction that, consequently, required a very vigorous cure.

The Soviet official and three members of the 13-man delegation of Soviet economists, who are participating in a seminar organized by the Adolfo Ibanez University and the Liberty and Development Institute, today visited General Augusto Pinochet, the Army commander in chief. This is the first meeting between Gen. Pinochet and officials from the Soviet Union, the leading communist country which was the military government's principal enemy since 1973.

The Soviets wanted to meet the person that headed the political and economic transformations between 1973 and 1990.

The Soviet delegates were accompanied by former Finance Minister Carlos Caceres, currently Liberty and Development Institute director and deputy rector of the aforementioned university.

Naishul said: We wanted to meet the person behind the economic and social team that implemented transformations in Chile, the like of which have not been implemented in other parts of the world. He added that he wished that his leaders were as resolute, as clear, and as strong in their decisions as Gen. Pinochet has been.

Colombia

President Gaviria Addresses Constituent Assembly

PA2104172191 Bogota Radio Cadena Nacional in Spanish 2046 GMT 17 Apr 91

[Speech by President Cesar Gaviria before the Constituent Assembly at the Gonzalo Jimenez de Quezada Convention Center in Bogota—live]

[Text] Doctors Alvaro Gomez Hurtado, Antonio Navarro Wolff, and Horacio Serpa Uribe, presidents of the Constituent Assembly; honorable members of the Constituent Assembly; Ministers; ladies and gentlemen:

As president of the Colombian people I would like to begin by expressing my appreciation for your kind invitation to address this Constituent Assembly. Likewise, and on behalf of all our fellow countrymen, I would like to praise the work you have done for peace and the future of the nation. Your nature to serve is evident not only in the conscientious debates and presentations that the commissions, subcommissions, and the plenary sessions have heard, but also in the way you have undertaken the collective task of drafting the navigation chart that will guide our nation in the 21st century. Your team spirit and your concern to listen, with attention and respect, to different viewpoints and gather as much information as possible in this historic analysis, will undoubtedly be captured in a carefully drafted constitutional reform, which will not be the result of last-minute decisions, but rather of a process that will be remembered as one prepared by the best Colombian minds. In the future, it will also be an example to be used by members of the government institutions. The people appreciate the efforts you are making to reach agreements without setting aside your principles. This is the correct way to reach a lasting and stable peace treaty, to reach a new social pact, to reach a new agreement on what is important. This is why this is also a forum for peace and consensus.

The people have great hopes in the results of the Constituent Assembly. More than a year ago, millions of Colombians, from all walks of life, supported the so-called seventh ticket. A few months ago, these same Colombians cast the votes that lit the torch of hope that today burns in this process. This was not done in vain. In doing this, the Colombian people set down the ground rules. They voted against bombs, terror, threat, intimidation, and the murder of presidential candidates and other citizens. The people rose up peacefully to say that the new nation we must build cannot be the result of violence, the will of a minority—despite how select this group might be—or of the insecure majorities. It must be built on the only thing that can guarantee a lasting and stable peace: consensus. I am not talking of consensus of all and for all; I am talking of a consensus to set the basic rules of the game for the peaceful airing of our differences. Above all, consensus should be the result of an ample participation in which pluralism is respected and the minorities are heard.

I know that we cannot hope for each and every decision made here to be adopted by consensus; however, we must all know that a spirit of consensus must prevail in those main issues that will be the foundation of the new constituency. Our tomorrow, dear constituents, calls for a foundation of peace. This is demanded by 30 million Colombians. The traditional parties, the new groups, and the new forces in Colombia, demand a place in the new political charter. There are those who say that, historically, violence has found its nest in this country. This in large measure is due to the arbitrary decisions made by some Colombians, who, after winning a battle of brothers against brothers or through excluding political processes, have tried to control the people. For one reason or another, a large group of citizens has always remained outside the law. This, ladies and gentlemen, is what we are beginning to overcome. We must complete this effort with the magnanimity of the intelligent.

To summarize, the country has tasked you with preparing a new constitution that will bring peace built on solid and harmonious bases and not create more problems. Those of you who came to this hall as a result of your sacred commitments to peace and democracy must be more faithful than anyone to those commitments. The same Colombians who tore down the walls and barriers that opposed change trust that this Constituent Assembly will fulfill its mandate. It is not a vague or undefined mandate; it was clearly and precisely defined by the people who cast their votes for nothing more and nothing less than amending the Constitution.

No one expects the Assembly to solve the country's problems with magic or to take on the functions of a judge by acquitting or convicting criminals, thereby usurping the powers of the judicial branch. Nor is it expected to replace the executive branch or tarnish its lofty historic mission by devoting itself to adopting laws, decrees, or resolutions, instead of revising the Constitution. This, however, does not diminish the Assembly's sovereign right to modify any aspect of the existing Constitution, with no restrictions as to the subject. The Supreme Court of Justice ruled that Decree 16-29 is constitutional. It only invalidated those issues that placed restrictions on the Assembly. We are gathered here today because the Supreme Court of Justice ruled that decrees 927 and 19-26 of 1990 are constitutional.

Basic issues, such as the process to convoke and elect the Assembly and the electoral districts, were taken into consideration in the introductory paragraphs, not in the body, of the decree. Other basic issues, such as the number of members in this Assembly, were defined in Decree 19-26. That is why it is not suprising that the Supreme Court has clearly and firmly ruled that all provisions—and I quote, regardless of where these may be, whether they are in the introductory paragraphs or

not—will remain in effect. The court also ruled that these should be complied with as if they were the norms. The government has complied with them and will continue to do so. That is why this Assembly is entirely different from the ones that have met in the past in our country. It is democratic and, although it has a special and extraordinary mechanism to amend the Constitution, it was not convoked by breaking the state of law. On the contrary, in a decision that created controversy but that finally turned out to be the correct decision, the government sent to the Supreme Court of Justice a decree in a sufficient amount of time. It was not sui generis, like the 1957 plebiscite, but of a state of siege so that there would not be any doubts as to the legality of this amendment mechanism and so that one could disclaim that what had been approved by the Assembly or state was outside or above the state of law.

The implications that this path could have been covered by the courts was emphasized by the Supreme Court of Justice. As is the case with all branches within a state of law, the Assembly operates within a system of checks and balances. The first one of these is the people, not only because the Assembly is submitted to the checks by the people, but because the people—the only sovereign entity in a democracy—[word indistinct] a legal provision. Without exceeding that provision, but with full autonomy, the Assembly is fulfilling that specific function of amending the Constitution, in accordance with the ballots cast by the voters.

I already mentioned these issues publicly in a communique issued last 23 October, much earlier than the elections. A few days after that, the Supreme Court of Justice ruling on Decree 19-26 was made public. In that communique, I included two paragraphs of the ruling, which I think are basic inasmuch as they refer to a point which has led to public controversy and has sparked various positions, all of which are very reasonable. Concerning the request about those elected in 1990 and the restrictions [inhabilidades] imposed on the delegates, the Supreme Court of Justice said, and I quote: The current terms of those officials mentioned in point nine of the political agreement included in the introductory paragraphs of Decree 19-26 dated 1990 will not be affected. Otherwise, the future restrictions and its coinciding with the electoral years would not make any sense. It later adds: It is advisable to add that naturally not all the clauses of the political agreements unduly restrict the main Constituent Assembly member, but on the contrary, have a tendency to assure the independence and devotion that the Constituent Assembly members should have for the Assembly's success. Parting from the premise that the Assembly was created within the state of law, one reaches a very important conclusion.

Its legitimacy is clear and it has sufficient legal jurisdiction to amend the Constitution and to issue norms that must be implented without any ratification later by Congress or the people. Therefore, the government will fully comply with the new constitutional order. It would be wrong to think that once the amendments are approved, there will be two constitutions: the 1886 Constitution and the one to be adopted by the Assembly. There will be only one Constitution; the government is obliged to respect and comply with it and will do so. No one should have any doubts about this. The government is also looking forward to the prompt implementation of the amendments, and hopes that adequate temporary provisions are adopted to this effect.

Above all, the government believes it is necessary for safeguards be established to protect the amendments. One of these safeguards could be a short grace period during which an evaluation of some of the amendments could be carried out.

Since I am aware that this process would have been very difficult had arguments that represent the will of the people not been heard, I continue to believe that this spirit of harmony that brought about this process should be maintained. I am certain that the various sources represented at the Assembly can reach agreement on those points of the reform agenda that should not be passed simply with a majority vote. The government is willing to offer its cooperation to achieve this goal.

We have been promoting peace with those who are up in arms from the very beginning of our mandate. We reached agreements with the EPL [Popular Liberation Army], the PRT [Revolutionary Workers Party], and the Quintin Lame Commando Unit. These agreements have resulted in a definite laying down of weapons by these groups and their incorporation into legal life. Representatives of these organizations are here with us today in this Assembly as tangible proof that peace is possible if there is a will to attain it. We have also promoted contacts and talks, with clear and defined guidelines, with those groups that have not laid down their weapons. Since September we have been trying to promote talks with FARC [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia] and the ELN [Army of National Liberation]. We have offered them new conditions to incorporate themselves into a definite peace process. We have accepted, as a constructive addition to our policy, three proposals repeatedly presented by those groups and previously rejected by the government. The possibility of persons and sectors not involved with the government playing a role within the dialogue process is today an accepted procedure in the eventual development of the peace process. It is not a matter of mediation models that have failed in the past, nor of looking for mediators, as the most efficient procedure to engage in a direct guerrilla-government dialogue, but rather to obtain the approval of civilian and political sectors' representatives who can, in their specific fields of interest, participate in paving the way for reconciliation. We also considered it to be feasible—if agreements are reached with these groups—for their compliance to be verified by international organizations to give greater guarantee to the commitments undertaken. We also accepted the proposition to ratify the protocols and the Geneva Agreements that govern armed conflicts. The first protocol has already been presented to Congress and with regard to the

second protocol, the government and the Armed Forces are abiding by the law and the internal guidelines which are, perhaps, stricter that the protocols. We are willing to present the second protocol to the Congress if the rebels, who have repeatedly requested its implementation, prove, with their behavior that they will respect the civilian population.

These proposals were presented publicly and, to create even more trust, we sponsored the idea that nongovernmental commissions should contact the rebels so that direct talks could begin soon. Unfortunately for the country, those organizations already had other plans. In September, three months before the members of this Assembly were elected, they launched an unbounded offensive of terror and violence. This offensive worsened early this year and turned bloodiest precisely on the day the Constituent Assembly was sworn in. The most affected by these actions were the people, especially the poorest people, who saw their crops lost and their chance for honest work destroyed. They mistook generosity for weakness and they responded to our proposals with fire.

As if this was not enough, every time we offered ample conditions to begin a serious and clean process, they employed delaying tactics. The groups that are up in arms have been in existence for more than 30 years. However, over the past three decades the Colombian people have made deep changes through peaceful and political means. The changes have been greater than those the rebels sought to make with their weapons. The country has made social and economic progress. Very few Third World countries have made this kind of progress. Poverty is on the decline and our democracy has expanded virtually without ideological or formal restrictions. All political ideas have room for development. Today, municipal mayors are elected by the people and the political parties can choose their candidates in an election. Today, new political forces participate in the state decisionmaking process and ballots are used in elections, thus eliminating the electoral fraud of the past. Those who are up in arms no longer have an excuse for their actions. The composition of this Assembly and the path it has undertaken is in response to one of their main requests. However, they continue to hold onto the past, opposing changes in our country.

Ladies and gentlemen of the Assembly, today those who are up in arms are outside the framework of a peaceful revolution. They are today's reactionaries. Just the fact that it exists makes this Assembly a symbol of peace that is demonstrated with the presence of representatives and spokespersons of the EPL, the PRT, and the Quintin Lame Commando Unit.

Like you, I know time is short. Nevertheless, the people continue to wait for the guerrilla groups, which insist on sowing destruction while we are determined to build, to abandon the path of terror and weapons. The people continue to wait for them to come to this Assembly and other democratic forums with the same courage as that of the 30 million Colombians who do not resort to the force of rifles to defend their democratic ideas.

In a patriotic manner, this Assembly has always been heedful of the development of the possibilities of a negotiated peace and has significantly contributed toward promoting progress in this regard. You were the ones who proposed that the Catholic Church carry out mediation efforts to facilitate the beginning of a dialogue. The government immediately accepted this call from the Assembly, but today we must lament that the objectives of this mediation have not been attained. Nevertheless, I want to reiterate that we continue to be convinced of the value of political solutions to end armed subversion. Our desire to attain peace through civilized methods cannot be doubted. Those who in the past used weapons and who today have a place in this Assembly are the best witnesses, the best proof, that the government wants peace and that it is ready to continue to persevere in the search for reconciliation and the definite resolution of the armed conflict.

This Assembly is also proof that political renewal and changes in our nation are possible through peaceful means. This is shown by the forces represented here. The Assembly's firm legitimacy has enabled it to discuss without reservation or fear all the topics that it believes need reform. The Assembly is much more than the site of great debates that frequently do not lead to anything concrete. This Assembly has become the forum for great decisions that will lead to drafting our Constitution. That is why I am pleased that discussions in the plenary sessions, the committees, and subcommittees have been completely frank and have always had the objective of working for Colombia's future.

Wishing to speak clearly and to talk about reality in a straightforward manner, I would like to contribute some points to consider with regard to some of the great topics that are of concern to this Assembly.

Let us start with the Prosecutor General's Office, the main instrument to strengthen the administration of justice on criminal offenses. When I look back, I cannot help but appreciate the efforts made in this field. But I also regret that, despite these efforts, the administration of justice continues to be in such poor condition. Past experience shows something we all should always keep in mind. Our attempts at correcting our judicial system's mistakes have failed.

Furthermore, there is very little a judge can do in the face of organized crime, armed bands, and terrorism. That is how it is. A judge can only adopt a heroic attitude that does not lead to the effective punishment of the criminals. The basic question this Assembly faces to reform the administration of justice is the following: Do we try to correct the defects of the current system or do we change the system? Do we repeat the unsuccessful experience of the past or do we build something new for the future of peace and calm the desire of the Colombian

people? (?My) government, as well as many Constituent Assembly members, has proposed the path of the future.

What is the makeup of that old system we must change? It is a system based on the concept of crime as an isolated action committed by chance by identifiable individuals acting on their own. However, the new criminal activity is characterized, first, by its massive effects, because in addition to affecting property and individual or specific interests, the crimes affect the peace and security of the civilian population. Second, the new criminal activity is characterized by its complexity, because it involves a diversity of intertwined conduct directed toward a single purpose. Third, the crimes are not committed by individuals, but by organizations, which are true criminal enterprises that have the necessary power and sufficient means to constantly threaten an entire society.

How does the current penal system respond to such a challenge? With a defenseless judge sitting at a desk, amid a pile of files, and armed with a typewriter; a judge who has not been trained to investigate, but to judge. That is why we are proposing that the judges devote themselves to judging and the prosecutor general to investigating. That is the great help the executive branch can give to the judges—to arrest and take to court an accused and present proof to show he is guilty. In this way, the judge's verdict would stand on firm ground. In this way, his rulings would be effective. In this way, confidence in the administration of justice would be recovered. In this way, the judge's heroic work would consist of imparting justice and not of sacrificing his life trying to obtain proof.

There is more. Let us look back at our history. There has been great progress, but there have also been constant occurrences of organized violence by armed bands, subversion, and terrorism. It would be naive to think that this is just circumstantial. This criminal activity will not disappear soon. Each day it becomes more and more sophisticated. It would be ill-advised to let the struggle against this type of criminal activity be dealt with by a permanent and indefinite state of siege. We must institutionalize mechanisms to strengthen criminal justice. Criminal justice must always be strong. The effectiveness of criminal justice must be the norm and not the exception. There have been cases of witnesses of actions by criminal organizations who have refused to testify to people other than the president of the Republic or one of his ministers. Such witnesses have believed that no one other than these high-ranking officials could guarantee their security. In other cases, intelligence agencies carried out complete and detailed investigations of criminal actions and of those responsible for them, and months passed without the appropriate judicial investigation being opened. On another occasion, the lack of protection for judges was made evident when a criminal investigation team traveled to an area of Santander where a number of massacres had been committed, and the team then became the victim of a new massacre.

I am recounting these cases to urge you to consider the following: Does it make sense to insist on sending judges, supported by a small group of people, to the terrifying adventure of putting their heads in the lion's mouth, with just a penal code under their arms? Does it make sense that after an investigation has been carried out within the law, one has to start from scratch in the hearing process? The government does not believe so. The state must have a formidable organization that will coordinate actions by the various agencies participating in the prosecution of crimes, under a single unit of leadership and command. It must be responsible for guaranteeing the effectiveness of the investigation with the use of the most sophisticated technical and scientific means, and, hear me well, with the support of the Armed Forces whenever necessary. Yes, that is the harsh reality. Without the support of the public force to facilitate the armed protection of the investigators, impunity will prevail in many cases.

That is why it is so important, and I state this clearly, that the prosecutor general must not be a member of the judicial branch. He must work with the executive branch, which is blamed for the public order situation and the impunity and which can effectively provide him with the resources he needs. The institution of the Prosecutor General's Office develops the principle of harmonious cooperation among the branches of government. The government believes little will be advanced if, as is established in a proposal that contains other valuable elements, the prosecutor general is included within the judicial branch. I understand that this proposal is intended to prevent arbitrary actions in investigations, but we believe that such a threat is not eliminated by placing the prosecutor general under the judicial branch, but by the establishment of effective judicial controls. Indeed, such a proposal entails the danger that we might be deceiving ourselves because we might end up changing the name of the investigating judges and maintaining the old system that has not worked. Any method for the selection of the prosecutor general that avoids that mistake and permits the president to propose nominees for that position would be advisable.

The prosecutor general we are proposing will permit the integration of investigative officials, the judicial police, the Attorney General's Office, and obviously, the judges, in activity to harmoniously and collectively prosecute crimes that appear to be disconnected, but that come from the same source. This would permit the various state institutions to obtain comprehensive and consolidated information about the criminal activity so as to suppress, as well as prevent it. While in the investigation undertaken by investigative judges they can only act after a crime has been committed, a Prosecutor General's Office like the one we are proposing would act against the criminal organizations even before the criminal action is committed, so as to learn how they prepare, organize, plan, and execute their criminal activities.

Moreover, even though the prosecutor general would come from the executive branch, according to the

modern characteristics of penal procedures, he would in no way be a subordinate agent of the government or the president. He would act autonomously, because his actions would be based on the principles of impartiality and independence that are sought not only among judicial officials, but all who contribute to the effective administration of justice. Officials of the Prosecutor General's Office would be under a special civil service system, separate from the fluctuations of political life, and subject to qualifications strictly regulated by the Constitution and the law. Within this concept, the prosecutor general would not entirely decide who is prosecuteds or who is not, but at his discretion, he would guide the state in its investigation and prosecution of crimes. It must be noted that the proposed system is not conceived for all types of crime, but for those the seriousness of which demands a special system of criminal investigations. It would be an institution that would develop gradually and flexibly and the scope of which must be decided by the legislators.

What would happen to the rights of a person under investigation? This is a valid concern that the government, which has firmly defended and will continue to defend citizens' rights, views as fundamental. Therefore, according to the government's plan, no one can be deprived of his freedom or have his privacy restricted without judicial authorization or control. The guarantees of the right to defense are clearly stated.

In addition, the Attorney General's Office will permanently participate in investigations to ensure that legal procedures are followed. Only to fight terrorism could an organic law establish concrete exceptions to these principles, but only under judicial and parliamentarian control. In this manner, a healthy balance will be established between effectiveness and guarantees, between responsibility and autonomy, between ideals and reality.

There are three very closely related issues that cannot be treated alone: The guarantee of rights, the mechanisms for protection, and the Constitutional Court. The government, as well as several Constituent Assembly members, have proposed the creation of a Constitutional Court that would be at the head of a jurisdiction devoted particularly to the implementation of the Constitution through new instruments that will make it easier for anyone to have access to justice in defending his rights.

The document presented by the justice subcommittee also proposed the creation of a constitutional court with some reservations. In the past, there have been attempts to create a constitutional court in order to discontinue what some have described as a government of judges. Other people believe that the function of interpreting the Constitution is political, and therefore cannot be carried out by a court of appeals.

It has also been said that given the profound implications that declaring a law unconstitutional can have in the political life of a nation, a body specialized in handling matters related to public law is necessary, the origin and makeup of which must be different from that of regular courts.

Without underestimating those positions, based on other considerations we have concluded that a constitutional court is necessary. Sooner or later we will have to answer the following questions: Who will be entrusted with the huge responsibility of interpreting and developing the new constitution according to the law? Who will you entrust with the responsibility of promoting, during the next decades, the constitutional changes that will emerge from the Constituent Assembly? Who will act as guardian to protect the new constitution and adapt it to Colombia's dynamic reality? Above all, what institution will have the mission of preventing any powerful authority—through laws, decrees, resolutions, orders or other administrative actions—from stopping this great transformation you are currently promoting?

The answer is clear. It must be entrusted to a judicial organization created for that mission, which will be part of the new Colombia. That judicial organization must count with the necessary mechanisms to ensure that rights are respected, to guarantee the autonomy of territorial entities, to resolve the specific controversies that will emerge from the creation of mechanisms for participation.

We must think of our future. The new constitution requires a new system of constitutional control for its full implementation. We all know of specific cases of arbitrariness, situations that make some of us wonder what can be done. There is no law to which to resort. No lawyer would recommend that those who have been treated arbitrarily travel to Bogota to exercise their rights as citizens to request that a legal regulation be declared unconstitutional because there is no law authorizing discrimination of privileges.

There are flagrant cases of arbitrariness that clearly show that citizens' right to demand that a legal procedure be declared unconstitutional, although essentially good, by itself is not enough to protect those rights. Therefore, since there is no applicable law contradicting the Constitution, the recourse of unconstitutionality previewed in Article 215 of the current Constitution cannot actually be implemented.

In view of this situation, it is necessary to adopt two measures: first, clearly define, for example, the principle of equality as well as rights, so that a judge can have a solid basis to order an end to arbitrariness. Saying that we are all equal before the law is not enough. It is necessary to clearly specify which exceptions cannot be made because they are discriminatory, and which exceptions are valid. In addition to defining constitutional rights, it is necessary to create procedures that will permit those affected to easily appear before any judge to

request protection. The judge must make a quick decision, without formalism or other steps, considering if in a specific case a constitutional right is being endangered or violated.

Indeed, if that is the case the judge must be able to find appropriate solutions within days. The most important things to avoid are: Violations of rights, withholding of compensation payments, handing down a ruling after a lengthy civil or criminal law suit or any other kind of suit. In this manner, citizens will become the guardians of their rights and judges will serve as the the guardians of the Constitution. In cases where specific and tangible facts take the precedence of abstract norms, we must establish the right of amparo in the Constitution. I am pleased that the report by the First Committee's Third Subcommittee contemplated this mechanism under the name of tutelage right [derecho de tutela]. However, I am concerned to see that both mechanisms are being considered, although they are fundamental to the defense of rights—not in the abstract but in specific cases. The first pertains to the recourse to the Constitutional Court while the second addresses the issue of replacing the provision on unconstitutionality contained in Article 215 of the Constitution.

I wish to show how these mechanisms of protecting rights fill the gap in the government's activities in the area of unconstitutional matters and in the constitutional provision on unconstitutionality. These mechanisms have the additional advantage of ensuring coherence in the workings of the Constitution and avoiding conflicts of interpretation between the two branches.

Undoubtedly, you will think there will be a great deal of litigation over constitutional matters and particularly over the issue of rights. You are probably right, and this is what all this is about. It is not about the Constitution in theory or a combination of illusions and good intentions; it is about the Constitution becoming an instrument for a peaceful resolution of problems, struggle against injustice, and fight against arbitrariness. That is much better than using de facto measures, heated protests, or disregarding laws which are considered to be in violation of our rights. It is much better to go before a judge for justice to be served. Knowing that he is defending the people's rights will give such judge a feeling of dignity and restore his trust and respect, and why not, win the love of the people. In the struggle against arbitrariness the judge will accompany the people bearing the banner of justice. This is normal in a de jure state and in a participative democracy.

Added to the existent and already overloaded judicial branch, particularly the Supreme Court of Justice, all these new cases of a constitutional nature could hinder the administration of justice—or what could be equally disastrous—detract from the efficiency and credibility of the mechanisms for the defense of rights. Likewise, the Constitutional Court would also assume other duties such as determining the constitutionality of very important actions such as public treaties, referendums and elections. There is much at stake for the country's development concerning such matters. It calls for greater attention, particularly when compatibility with the valid Constitution is questioned.

To avoid the risk of clogging up the system, it is necessary to create a constitutional court that will lighten the workload of the Supreme Court of Justice. The Constitutional Court would be at the head of a constitutional jurisdiction that would continue to grow with the legal creation of tribunals and situations dictated by circumstances. As we have seen in the case of Germany, it is also important that this court should handle cases involving the issue of rights. We must also consider the possibility that the Constitutional Court address simpler cases so that it can concentrate its efforts on more important matters.

There is another advantage to the Constitutional Court, particularly during a times of transition from one regime to another. This is when the existing laws can be termed unconstitutional and it is also when the efficiency of the new constitution must be promoted in a coherent manner. Rights must be taken seriously, the citing of raison d'etat by political authorities must not take precedence over citizens' rights. We must never forget that the invoking of state interests—disguised by noble expressions such as the good of the people or the country—has been used by some to justify the most aberrant injustice. Another consequence of this concept of rights is the belief that what really matters are the prevailing realities, facts, and circumstances.

To ignore the context of a situation and the special situation of a person by imposing the law over the rights of the people, would lead to seeing the law quote, as a blind and stubborn tyrant, unquote. We were warned about this by one of the great Greek philosophers. I admit that the topic is a delicate one. It is as big as it is important because every word in the Constitution is a transfer of power to the citizens to avoid arbitrariness. Every case involving the law implies leaving decisions that could lead to serious political repercussions in the hands of a judge. I wish to praise the efforts made by the First Commission because it did not take the easy way out to automatically incorporate all the international treaties on human rights. The members of the commission chose to define each right according to our situation and the hopes and needs of the people who chose them for this important task.

I would like to make another observation with regard to the Constitution. The Constitution is not conceived as a combination of good wishes and noble aspirations. It is an instrument for the protection of the people's rights which will be interpreted by the judges. It is, therefore, necessary to differentiate between the rights that can be implemented directly without legal procedures and rights circumscribed by the law. Otherwise, we would smother the petition for protection of trusteeship [recurso de amparo tutela] with an overload of rights, or we would simply place the judge in a situation of not

being able to solve the problem of a person who visits his office asking for proper housing, basic health services, work, fair wages, work hygiene, professional training, or the removal of environmentally unsafe vehicles off the streets. Spain and Germany incorporated this distinction in their laws. The EEC also made this distinction when it gave the Human Rights Court the authority to handle matters pertaining to the European Convention on Civil and Political Rights, but not those regarding the European Social Charter. Taking advantage of all those decades of experience the government has submitted for your approval an attempt to classify rights and to ensure that some social, economic, and cultural rights as well as all the so-called group rights do not fall under the directly enforceable category. In such circumstances, only the law can approve the petition for protection after establishing its competence and limitations.

The Constitutional Court and the system to protect the Constitution's preponderance, which we have proposed, is different from other similar initiatives in several ways. 1) The court will not be made up exclusively of public law experts but of capable lawyers, regardless of their background. The special nature of the court members shall not be the result of predetermined and sometimes arbitrary qualifications but of the experience of defending the Constitution's supremacy day by day as magistrates devoted solely to this task. 2) The system does not put an end to the multiple control but perfects and modifies it. All judges will be guardians of the constitutional order. They will have the tools to do so effectively and can resort to the constitutional court to seek a consensus on law enforcement and outline interpretation guidelines. 3) The public action of constitutionality is preserved for the abstract control of norms. This is surely one of the Colombian law's leading contributions to modern constitutionality, which can be enriched with the measures already suggested in the proposal of the corresponding subcommission. 4) Constitutional control is not politicized. This control continues to be judicial and applied by independent magistrates because the method for election and renovation of the constitutional court guarantees this to be so, at least on the government's proposal. The magistrates, in effect, would be selected by the Senate where there will be pluralism of forces. The candidates for magistrate will be suggested by the Supreme Court of Justice, the Council of State, and the president of the Republic. Therefore, two-thirds of the candidates would be proposed by the judicial branch. The court would be replaced one-third at a time in accordance with a procedure that will not hinder its independence.

To summarize, in keeping with the long history of integral judicial control that Colombia is very proud of, we are adding some new tools for the defense of the supremacy of the Constitution—the constitutional court. We hope that this marvelous piece of work will not end up as rhetoric, perish as an abstraction, or stumble over the rigidity of formalism.

I would have liked to talk about other no less important issues, but I do not want to abuse your time. I know that you will have the enormous responsibility of interpreting the view of Colombians on issues pertaining to the territorial organization of the state, state of siege, budget planning, congressional reform, and participation mechanisms.

The Assembly has shown creativity and imagination on all these topics and I feel optimistic—as a Colombian—because of the success achieved by the delegates within the commissions and plenary sessions, only three months away from the conclusion of their work.

I wish to specifically applaud some of the areas in which the Assembly is undoubtedly improving our modern constitutional law with ideas on public service, struggle against economic concentration, defense of collective interests, and corruption—which is a key ingredient for the success of moralization efforts. Such efforts are consistent with the world trend of showing concern for problems affecting all of humanity . Five highly important complementary initiatives against privileges, bribes, cover up, and irresponsibility and lack of discipline on the part of public officials have been submitted.

Delegates: I thank you again for the time and attention you have given to this speech of the president of Colombia. I also wish to contribute to the analysis process that is taking place at this forum before the expectant and hopeful eyes of the entire nation.

We will have other opportunities at this Assembly to further discuss this and other issues if you so desire. We can also continue the discussion at the Narino Palace where the government has held meetings with the various forces represented in Constituent Assembly.

If we look into the past and recall the great obstacles that we have had to overcome to reach this point, we will appreciate the profound significance of the path that we have covered so far. All of us together, shoulder to shoulder, are building a great nation. The people who elected us will judge whether we were up to the challenge.

Millions of Colombians, the same ones who tore down the walls that opposed renovation, hope that the great avenues of democracy and participation will be opened forever to ensure the triumph of a peaceful revolution leading us to a future of justice, solidarity, and peace; a peaceful revolution that will change the fate of Colombia forever. Thank you very much. [applause]

Extraditables Demand Relatives Be Spared

PA2004012891 Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0305 GMT 20 Apr 91

[Text] In a communique sent to the media today, the Extraditables demanded that the lives of their relatives be spared. Otherwise, they said, they would not spare the relatives of those who fail to respect the lives of the Extraditables' relatives. The Extraditables threatened to

detonate powerful bombs if any of their cronies are reported missing. They labeled several police officers as paid killers.

In his program "God's Minute" last night, Father Garcia Herreros again and again mentioned Pablo Escobar and his desire to be reincorporated into society. What else is there in Father Herrera's message?

[Begin Herrera recording] They have told me that they are willing to talk with me, that they want to be able to walk freely, that they want to devote their money to the service of Colombia. They asked me to receive them and told me that they want to work to repair the harm that has been done. [end recording]

It was a strange "God's Minute" program, worded in poetic and symbolic language for the evident purpose of sending a message beyond the plain meaning of the words. This, plus Father Herreros' busy week, shows that some action, probably the release of kidnapped persons, is being prepared around the priest. He said in Medellin on Monday that this release was at hand. On Tuesday, he was reported to be in Middle Magdalena. On Wednesday, the delicate voice of a secretary said he was in Magangue. On Thursday, he was in Bogota, resting. Today he was in Medellin. His program of last night made clear that there was a contact with Pablo Escobar, during which Escobar expressed his desire to surrender and his mistrust of police authorities. It is also evident that Escobar offered money to the Paid Killers' Rehabilitation Institute. The minute of God seems to have arrived for Escobar and the minute for doubt and searching seems to have arrived for Father Herreros.

M-19 Official Killed in Cesar Department

PA2004004991 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1732 GMT 19 Apr 91

[Text] Bogota, 19 Apr (NOTIMEX)—Jose Madrid Bayona, leader of the M-19 Movement Democratic Alliance [AD M-19], was killed today by unidentified men in northern Cesar Department, police here have reported.

Madrid—the fifth M-19 member killed so far this year—was shot early this morning by two gunmen near a pool room in the town of San Alberto (600 km north of the capital). The police have indicated that the attackers managed to escape after shooting Madrid, president of one of the country's most important labor unions. The incident took place when the labor leader, a leading member of the former guerrilla group, was in that public place.

The assassination of Madrid, president of the Indupalma [expansion unknown] labor union—which consists of more than 2,000 workers engaged in the production of cooking oil—brought protests in the country's most important factories. Five activists of the former M-19 guerrilla group, which returned to civilian and political life in March 1990, have been killed by gunmen so far this year.

FARC Leader Views Agreements With Government

PA1904205191 Paris AFP in Spanish 0458 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Text] Mexico City, 15 Apr (AFP)—The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia [FARC] downplayed the disarmament agreements signed by other guerrilla groups as "negotiations in which arms and principles are surrendered." FARC staff member Ariel Carbajal has said that the agreements reduced the number of insurgents by 40 percent.

In an interview published on 15 April by Mexican newspaper EXCELSIOR, Carbajal said that FARC has over 8,000 armed men in 60 fronts; the National Liberation Army [ELN] and Popular Liberation Army [ELN], which along with the FARC comprise the Simon Bolivar National Guerrilla Coordinating Board [CNG], have 38 other fronts.

His downplaying of the agreements signed by other groups is based on an assessment of "a country where the dirty war has not ended, drug trafficking is assimilated by the state, there are no genuine democratic measures, and the Armed Forces continue to give orders."

He added that "the causes that resulted in guerrilla warfare will not disappear with the regime's absorption of a portion of the guerrilla movement; anyone who surrenders is killed."

Carbajal said that "militaristic groups in our Armed Forces and leaders of our country are interested" in a military solution.

"We are not interested in a military solution. There is no military solution that is favorable for the armed forces or the guerrillas in short run. Our peace policy aims to prevent us from sinking into the swamp of civil war," he added.

The FARC leader said that his group plans to become a political party, "but in order to do so the government must offer guarantees and facilities."

Paraguay

Justice, Labor Minister Suffers Heart Attack

PY2104213691 Asuncion NOTICIAS in Spanish 21 Apr 91 p 3

[Text] According to reports issued by the doctors who are treating Justice and Labor Minister Dr. Hugo Estigarribia Elizeche, who has been admitted to Migone Sanatorium in this capital, the government official's condition is evolving satisfactorily and he will be ready to leave the intensive care unit today, although he will remain in the sanatorium for monitoring.

Dr. Hugo Estigarribia suffered an unexpected heart attack last Friday [19 April] and was taken to the

sanatorium; due to the seriousness of his condition, he was placed in intensive care.

A doctor on duty last night, who was contacted by our newspaper, said the minister is already out of danger and will leave the intensive care unit, but will be subject to strict monitoring, involving a few more days of hospitalization.

Rodriguez, Argentina's Menem Dedicate Ferry

PY1904211391 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 19 Apr 91 p 12, 13

[By special correspondents]

[Excerpt] Pilar—The Paraguayan and Argentine presidents have again significantly advanced the current bilateral relations through the discussions they held in this city and in Formosa (Argentina), where they ended their meetings shortly after noon.

Rodriguez received Menem at the local airport, where the first protocol ceremonies took place. Both national anthems were sung and the Paraguayan and Argentine officials welcomed the two presidents.

Also attending the ceremony were the governors from the Argentine provinces of Corrientes, Formosa, Chaco, and Misiones.

The main ceremony was held at the port that will link Pilar with Fotheringham (or Colonia Cano) by ferry. Both national anthems were sung and Presidents Rodriguez and Menem made speeches. The Neembucu government delegate presented mementos to the two presidents, and special deference was made to Argentine citizens living in Pilar.

Father Domiciano Ramirez, who is the regional vicar, blessed the ferry and then the two presidents unveiled a commemorative plaque.

Menem and Rodriguez then boarded the ferry that took them to Fotheringham, where they carried out other activities. [passage omitted]

Government Negotiating Relations With East Europe

PY1604191491 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 15 Apr 91 p 15

[Text] Following a meeting with President General Andres Rodriguez this morning, Foreign Minister Alexis Frutos Vaesken revealed that the government has authorized him to negotiate with representatives from Austria, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, leading to the establishment of diplomatic and trade relations with those countries. The minister indicated that the seat of the Paraguayan Embassy would be Vienna, capital of Austria, from where affairs with Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia would be concurrently conducted.

Minister Frutos Vaesken said: "We have received instructions from the president to continue negotiations leading to establishing diplomatic relations with Austria, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Talks to that end are already under way, making progress, and it is expected that trade agreements with Hungary will be concluded soon."

Continuing, the minister said: "We are planning to open an embassy in Vienna, Austria, with the idea that it can concurrently function as our embassy for Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. We have already made contact with those countries and have received their visiting missions here."

He also announced that President Rodriguez will meet with Argentine President Carlos Saul Menem in Colonia Cano (Argentina) on 19 April when the ferryboat linking it with Pilar (Paraguay) will be inaugurated.

Correction to Rodriguez Views 14 Apr Elections

PY1804205791

This correction pertains to the item headlined "Rodriguez Views 14 Apr Colorado Party Elections," published in the 17 April Latin America DAILY REPORT, page 38: Column one, fourth paragraph of item, only sentence, make read: ...freedom of the voters. There was no coercion or pressure... (providing omitted word "no.")